

1<sup>st</sup>



1955

# *Constitutional* CONVENTION

PROCEEDINGS

NEW YORK, N.Y., DECEMBER 5-8, 1955

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS





**REPORT  
of the**

**1st**



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# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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## EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY  
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER  
Secretary-Treasurer

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Walter P. Reuther  
Harry C. Bates  
Wm. C. Doherty  
Emil Rieve  
Wm. L. McFetridge  
Dave Beck  
Jacob Potofsky  
A. Philip Randolph  
Joseph A. Beirne

Matthew Woll  
James B. Carey  
David Dubinsky  
Chas. J. MacGowan  
Joseph Curran  
M. A. Hutcheson  
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Willard S. Townsend  
A. L. Spradling

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Wm. C. Birthright  
David J. McDonald  
Herman Winter  
James C. Petrillo  
L. S. Buckmaster  
Joseph D. Keenan  
Richard F. Walsh  
O. A. Knight

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

George Meany  
Walter P. Reuther  
Matthew Woll  
James B. Carey

George M. Harrison  
David J. McDonald  
Harry C. Bates  
William F. Schnitzler

# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# First Constitutional Convention

## American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated...	5	6,799 6,799 6,799 6,798 6,798	Dullzell, Paul Shanks, H. O'Neill Somerset, Pat Bright, Jackie McKee, Alex
Agricultural Workers Union, National.....	1	3,713	Mitchell, H. L.
Air Line Dispatchers Association .....	1	609	Dunne, William B.
Air Line Pilots Association .....	3	2,920 2,920 2,920	Sayen, Clarence N. Bentley, C. E. Masland, W. M.
Aluminum Workers International Union .....	4	4,986 4,986 4,986 4,986	Stahl, Eddie R. Cowley, William L. Kelley, D. R. Mitchel, Claude R.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and .....	2	4,625 4,625	Sickles, C. W. Mulligan, Hugh E.
		50,390	Reuther, Walter P.
		50,390	Matthews, Norman
		50,390	Livingston, John W.
		50,390	Gosser, Richard
		50,390	Mazey, Emil
		50,390	Cote, Edward
		50,390	McCusker, Joseph
		50,390	McAulay, William
		50,390	Carter, Robert
		50,390	Woodcock, Leonard
		50,390	O'Malley, Patrick J.
		50,390	Ross, Raymond
		50,390	Ballard, Charles
		50,390	Berndt, Raymond H.
		50,390	Greathouse, Pat
		50,390	Letner, Russell
		50,389	Burt, George
		50,389	Gerber, Martin
		50,389	Kerrigan, Charles H.
		50,389	Kitzman, Harvey
		50,389	Merrelli, George
		50,389	Morris, Ken
		50,389	Robinson, Kenneth
		50,389	Bioletti, Charles
		50,389	Seaton, Norman B.
Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Imple- ment Workers of America, United.....	25		
		24,443	Heaton, Earl
		24,443	Doria, Anthony
		24,443	Evans, Frank
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United .....	3		

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America .....	7	19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,478	Winter, Herman E. Schnitzler, William F. Cross, James G. Sims, Curtis R. Landriscina, James Stuart, George Kralstein, Max
Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America .....	3	1,001 1,001 1,001	Ernest, Herbert Moscowitz, Lilyan Freedman, Malvina
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journey-men .....	6	10,834 10,834 10,833 10,833 10,833 10,833	Birthright, William C. Robinson, John B. Scafdi, Fred Crane, Charles T. Husk, George Sanders, E. M.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of .....	1	1,605	Noch, Michael
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of .....	8	18,844 18,844 18,844 18,844 18,844 18,843 18,843	Calvin, William A. MacGowan, Charles J. Buckley, William J. Eberhardy, A. J. Nacey, Harry Nolan, George Pendergast, William G. Boggs, Maywood
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of....	3	17,112 17,112 17,111	Haskin, Robert E. Denny, Joseph Moran, Marion
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union .....	5	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	Mara, John J. Anderson, Frank W. Lawson, George W. Cory, Tom Goggin, Daniel J.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Distillery Workers, International Union of United .....	6	7,500 7,500 7,500 7,500 7,500 7,500	Feller, Karl F. Rusch, Thomas Gilden, Arthur P. Watta, B. M. Dehner, John F. Person, Robert R.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America .....	5	24,090 24,090 24,090 24,089 24,089	Bates, Harry C. Murphy, John J. Conners, William R. Murphy, Thomas F. O'Donnell, Thomas H.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United .....	4	5,856 5,856 5,856 5,855	Flegal, H. R. Tracy, Wm. Duff, Nathan Santo, Carmine
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of .....	8	16,641 16,641 16,641 16,641 16,641 16,640 16,640 16,640	Lyons, J. H. Downes, J. R. Bauers, William F. Boyen, Joseph F. McCarthy, John L. Lyons, John H., Jr. McDonald, Thomas E. Rounds, Stanley
Broadcast Employees and Technicians, National Association of .....	3	1,233 1,233 1,232	Rothery, Clifford F. Klumpp, Eugene Byers, Harold L.

# DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Building Service Employees International Union 8		25,659	McFetridge, William L.
		25,659	Fairchild, George E.
		25,659	Sullivan, David
		25,659	Collins, Walter D.
		25,659	Hardy, George
		25,658	Burke, Thomas
		25,658	Shortman, Thomas
		25,658	Hackman, Arthur
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.... 6		19,334	Bernhardt, A. J.
		19,334	Burchfield, C. W.
		19,334	Duffin, Joseph L.
		19,334	Doll, E. C.
		19,333	Winters, J. F.
		19,333	Zloty, Steve
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of ..... 16		46,875	Hutcheson, M. A.
		46,875	Stevenson, John R.
		46,875	Blair, O. Wm.
		46,875	Fischer, Albert E.
		46,875	Chapman, Frank
		46,875	Hanson, Charles W.
		46,875	Kenney, Ted
		46,875	Davis, Kenneth
		46,875	Johnson, Charles, Jr.
		46,875	Rajoppl, Raleigh
		46,875	Schwarzer, Harry
		46,875	Chandler, Henry W.
		46,875	Roberts, R. E.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United ..... 5		7,037	Jones, Felix C.
		7,036	Gallo, Toney
		7,036	Schoenberg, William
		7,036	Roe, Reuben
		7,036	Taub, Lawrence
		7,036	
Chemical Workers Union, International ..... 7		11,350	Moffett, Edw. R.
		11,350	Shafer, Marshall
		11,350	Busby, A. Vincent
		11,350	Lewis, John E.
		11,349	Mellwain, Gordon
		11,349	Mitchell, Walter L.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America 3		3,064	Donovan, Joseph J.
		3,064	Aspeitia, Mario
		3,064	Campo, Ernest
		3,064	Haines, Sarah M.
Clenning and Dye House Workers, International Association of ..... 4		4,132	Gross, W. S.
		4,131	Zitello, John
		4,131	Minaden, M. J.
		4,131	Tusher, Morris
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office ... 6		16,242	George, Leo E.
		16,242	Hallbeck, E. C.
		16,242	Anderson, Rudolph D.
		16,242	Birchard, Percy W.
		16,242	Durand, Robert C.
		16,242	Oglesby, Clifford A.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway ..... 10		26,423	Harrison, George M.
		26,423	Ziegler, Phil E.
		26,423	Sylvester, J. H.
		26,423	Goble, G. B.
		26,423	Morgan, Robert
		26,422	Snedden, L. B.
		26,422	Price, George O.
		26,422	Sullivan, Daniel J.
		26,422	Coleman, Walter T.
		26,422	Wysong, Charles W.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, International Association, Retail . . . . .	9	28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,788 28,788 28,788	Suffridge, James A. Housewright, Vernon A. Sackett, Guy A. Shea, Frank C. Meyers, Samuel J. Crossier, Anthony B. Lafayette, Paul Hanson, Paul W. Ammond, Fred A.
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated. . 12		17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500	Potofsky, Jacob Rosenblum, Frank Blumberg, Hyman Chatman, Abraham Dickason, Gladys Genis, Sander La Capria, Vincent Block, Reuben Weinstein, Murray Salerno, Joseph Weinstein, Charles Brazier, Richard
Communications Workers of America . . . . .	13	19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,158 19,158	Beirne, J. A. Crull, John L. Hanscom, Mary Moran, J. J. Jones, A. T. Watts, Glenn Smallwood, W. A. Smith, W. G. Gill, George E. Smith, James Dreyer, Ray Knecht, Louis McCowen, D. L.
Coopers International Union of North America 1		3,267	Doyle, James J.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union . . . . .	3	8,510 8,509 8,509	Oneto, George J. Autterson, Hobert Fontana, Alfred A.
Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada . . . . .	3	4,726 4,725 4,725	Damino, Harry O. Gordon, Milton Dianna, Emanuel
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Union of . . . . .	13	20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,859 20,859 20,859 20,859 20,859	Carey, James B. Hartnett, Al Block, Harry Kelley, Frederick Suarez, Jack Snoots, William Click, James Weihsrauch, Milton Hockenberry, Ellis Hutson, Leonard Hutchens, George Kraft, E. J. Palmer, Alan
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of . . . . .	6	76,707 76,706 76,706 76,706 76,706 76,706	Freeman, Gordon M. Keenan, Joseph D. Riley, Frank Dove, Horace Liggett, Joseph W. Paulsen, Charles M.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of . . . . .	3	3,388 3,388 3,388	Smith, Edward A. Magee, Edwin C. Feeney, Jr., Frank

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes cast by Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Engineers, International Union of Operating..	9	22,223 22,223 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222	Maloney, Wm. E. Gramling, Chas. B. Delaney, Joseph J. Converse, Frank P. Swanson, Victor S. Stuhr, Wm. J. Wharton, Hunter P. Bronson, Ralph B. Weber, Peter
Engineers, American Federation of Technical..	3	3,387 3,386 3,386	Stephens, Russell M. Raimist, J. Lawrence Pratt, Foster J.
Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union, International Metal .....	1	400	Woelfel, Conrad
Engravers Union of North America, Interna- tional Photo .....	4	3,900 3,900 3,900 3,900	Connell, Wilfrid T. Woll, Matthew Schmal, Henry F. Rehage, J. Arthur
Fire Fighters, International Association of ...	6	11,950 11,950 11,949 11,949 11,949 11,949	Redmond, John P. Richardson, George J. Barry, Howard P. Smith, Michael F. Beale, Robert McGuire, James
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of .....	6	9,449 9,449 9,448 9,448 9,448 9,448	Mats, Anthony E. Wright, George Tormey, Robert J. Kennedy, James Friedenberger, William E. Casselman, John
Flight Engineers' International Association ...	1	1,385	Kent, William D.
Furniture Workers of America, United .....	6	5,749 5,749 5,748 5,748 5,748 5,748	Pizer, Morris Fulford, Fred De Cicco, Michael Stefan, Fred McCormick, Neil J. Buckner, Floyd
Garment Workers of America, United .....	5	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	McCurdy, Joseph P. Hogan, E. M. King, Madge Jordan, Emily Berkson, A.
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies' .....	11	34,795 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794	Dubinsky, David Antonini, Luigi Nagler, Isidore Zimmerman, Charles S. Breslaw, Joseph Bialis, Morris Otto, Samuel Stulberg, Louis Hochmann, Julius Siems, Fred Bambace, Angela
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada .....	5	9,396 9,396 9,396 9,396 9,396	Minton, Lee W. Dalton, Raymond H. Warren, J. Belton Ray, Wynema Giacobelli, James J.
Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, United .....	6	6,823 6,823 6,823 6,823 6,823 6,822	Phares, Burl Beard, Leland Reiser, Ralph McCracken, Lewis Pelican, Willard Berger, Don

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Glass Cutters League of America, Window ...	1	{ 1,600	Boucher, Marcel R.
Glass Workers Union, American Flint .....	4	{ 7,024 7,024 7,024 7,023	Cook, Harry H. Mangiopane, Bennie McMullen, William Scheff, Charles M.
Glove Workers Union of America, Interna- tional .....	1	{ 2,833	Durian, Thomas
Government Employees, American Federation of .....	3	{ 15,697 15,696 15,696	Campbell, James A. Kelly, Timothy J. Olding, Henrietta E.
Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee .....	5	{ 5,464 5,463 5,463 5,463 5,463	Federoff, Anthony J. Murray, Milton Yancey, John L. Wagner, Martin Thomas, R. J.
Granite Cutters International Association of America, The .....	1	{ 4,000	Pagnano, Costanzo
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Interna- tional Union, United .....	5	{ 6,400 6,400 6,400 6,400 6,400	Rose, Alex Lewis, Marx Hershkowitz, Samuel Zaritsky, Max Spector, Nathaniel
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International .....	11	{ 33,860 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859	Moreschi, Jos. V. Morreale, Vincent F. Sullivan, Charles J. Sheet, Robert B. Lalor, Lee Fosco, Peter Garvey, John W. Graziano, Charles Waldron, Patrick Smith, Edgar F. Taylor, John
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen .....	1	{ 246	Miller, George C.
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of ....	4	{ 3,750 3,750 3,750 3,750	McKeown, Alexander Janaskie, Andrew Held, Fred G. Banachowicz, Major
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bar- tenders' International Union .....	8	{ 37,500 37,500 37,500 37,500 37,500 37,500 37,500 37,500	Miller, Ed S. Weinberger, Jack Siegal, David Rogan, T. C. Sarricks, Lawrence H. Cooper, John L. Peterson, Ida M. Koenig, Louis
Insurance Agents International Union .....	4	{ 3,136 3,136 3,136 3,136	Russ, George L. Shine, Max Heisel, Charles G. Pollack, Joseph
Insurance Workers of America .....	4	{ 2,184 2,184 2,183 2,183	Gillen, William A. Helfgott, Simon MacDermott, William S. Higginson, Arthur H.
Jewelry Workers Union, International .....	4	{ 5,115 5,114 5,114 5,114	Morris, Joseph Powell, Hyman J. Barenboim, A. Herbert Spodick, Harry



# DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal .....	4	3,885 3,885 3,885 3,885	McSorley, William J. Mashburn, Lloyd A. Hagen, Harry J. Matthews, Walter
Laundry Workers International Union .....	6	12,040 12,040 12,040 12,039 12,039 12,039	Byers, Sam J. James, E. C. Naddeo, Charles Ballinger, Amy Chasmar, Winfield Gershman, Mischa
Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union, International .....	5	5,957 5,957 5,957 5,957 5,956	Walinsky, Ossip Zukowsky, Norman Lublner, Phillip Frisa, Edward Wieselberg, Jack
Leather Workers International Union of America .....	2	817 817	O'Keefe, Richard B. Duffy, Joseph A.
Letter Carriers, National Association of .....	6	16,667 16,667 16,667 16,667 16,666 16,666	Doherty, William C. Cahill, Peter J. Stocker, James C. Farrell, William F. Merritt, J. Byron Anderson, Henry
Lithographers of America, Amalgamated .....	5	5,605 5,605 5,604 5,604 5,604	Blackburn, John Mertz, Oliver Brown, Arthur W. Slater, Francis P. Grayson, Martin
Longshoremen — AFL, International Brotherhood of .....	3	2,714 2,713 2,713	Long, Larry Slaughter, E. L. Yenger, Frank
Machinists, International Association of .....	15	41,794 41,794 41,794 41,794 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793	Hayes, A. J. Peterson, Eric Walker, Elmer E. Coonely, Fred H. White, E. R. Dameron, William Snider, John Burrows, D. M. Carey, Thomas Melton, Earl Brown, Roy M. McBreen, J. L. Siemiller, P. L. McGlon, J. C. Schollie, Geo. P.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of .....	8	19,891 19,891 19,891 19,891 19,891 19,891 19,891 19,890	Caroll, T. C. Shoemake, A. Wilson, J. D. Freccia, R. Padgett, H. L. Lambert, C. L. Bailey, R. L. Smith, C.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sowers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazo Helpers, International Association of .....	2	3,000 3,000	McCarthy, William Conway, John J.
Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Industrial Union of .....	5	5,391 5,391 5,391 5,391 5,391	Grogan, John J. Blood, Ross D. Pettis, Andrew A. Townsend, Joseph N. Williams, W. M., Jr.

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National .....	4	{ 2,146 2,146 2,146 2,146	{ Daggett, H. L. La Barge, A. F. Edwards, William, Jr. Edwards, Robert C.
Maritime Union of America, National .....	6	{ 6,089 6,089 6,089 6,089 6,088 6,088	{ Curran, Joseph Stone, Hedley M. Duffy, Adrian McDougall, John B. Federoff, Steve Ramos, Dave M.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, International Organization of .....	3	{ 3,156 3,156 3,155	{ Atkins, C. T. Bishop, J. M. Lurvey, R. D.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated .....	10	{ 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,274	{ Jimerson, Earl W. Gorman, Patrick E. Lloyd, T. J. Belsky, Joseph Kelly, R. Emmet Muller, Karl Block, Max Hook, Marvin W. Poole, Harry Wentz, Ray
Mechanics Educational Society of America....	6	{ 8,165 8,165 8,165 8,165 8,164	{ White, George Smith, Matthew Tarnley, Roy, Sr. Raymond, Jerry Kozma, James DeBella, James
Metal Workers International Association, Sheet .....	6	{ 8,334 8,334 8,333 8,333 8,333 8,333	{ Byron, Robert Cronin, A. H. Bruno, C. D. Carlough, Edward Bonadio, Frank Ryan, James J.
Millers, American Federation of Grain .....	5	{ 6,531 6,531 6,531 6,531 6,531	{ Ming, S. P. Schneider, H. A. Fransier, Marion C. Weiny, George D. Crane, N. D.
Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International .....	6	{ 11,160 11,159 11,159 11,159 11,159 11,159	{ Sample, Chester A. Maddox, Carl Collette, Levi Weise, Frank L. Scanlon, George Stein, Alphonse
Musicians, American Federation of .....	7	{ 35,680 35,680 35,679 35,679 35,679 35,679 35,679	{ Petrillo, James C. Charette, Ed. Kingsis, Edward Field, Frank B. Sidell, Robert Bagley, Charles L. Davis, Hal C.
Newspaper Guild, American .....	5	{ 4,251 4,251 4,250 4,250 4,250	{ Collis, Joseph F. Murphy, Joseph P. Farson, William J. Rosenstock, Arthur Perlik, Charles A., Jr.
Office Employees International Union .....	3	{ 14,609 14,609 14,609	{ Coughlin, Howard Hicks, J. Howard Juliano, Nicholas

# DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union .....	11	14,568	Knight, O. A.
		14,568	McCormick, T. M.
		14,568	Schafer, B. J.
		14,567	Appelbaum, Joseph
		14,567	Curran, J. T.
		14,567	Swisher, Elwood D.
		14,567	Dohane, John F.
		14,567	Trombley, W. J.
		14,567	Davis, Raymond M.
		14,567	Ernst, Arthur
		14,567	Savage, Richard J.
Packinghouse Workers of America, United....	9	13,060	Helstein, Ralph
		13,060	Hathaway, G. R.
		13,060	Stephens, A. T.
		13,060	Lasley, Russell
		13,059	Dowling, Fred
		13,059	LaRue, Burton
		13,059	Bull, Russell
		13,059	Thomas, George
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of .....	7	26,019	Hayes, Charles
		26,018	Raferty, Lawrence M.
		26,018	Rohrberg, William H.
		26,018	Yablonsky, Peter
		26,018	Owens, Frank
		26,018	Meehan, James
		26,018	Baker, Herbert
		26,018	Skoglund, Julius
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of...	6	9,957	Phillips, Paul L.
		9,957	Addy, Joseph
		9,956	Jones, John R.
		9,956	Bailey, John W.
		9,956	Brown, Al. E.
		9,956	Fisher, Mark
Paperworkers of America, United .....	6	6,667	Sayre, Harry D.
		6,667	Grasso, Frank
		6,667	Bridgwater, Charles
		6,667	Scott, Harry E.
		6,667	Vrntarie, Nicholas
		6,667	Thoms, Donald
Pattern Makers League of North America.....	1	11,000	Lynch, George Q.
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative .....	6	10,066	Rooney, John E.
		10,066	Leonard, Edward J.
		10,066	Hauck, John J.
		10,065	Brennan, John J.
		10,065	Tantillo, Benedict
		10,065	McDevitt, James L.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the..	9	22,223	Murray, Gene
		22,223	Means, George
		22,222	Schoemann, Peter T.
		22,222	Hillock, Edward J.
		22,222	McLaughlin, Wm. J.
		22,222	De Nike, Frank
		22,222	Murray, Thomas J.
		22,222	McHenry, Aloysius
		22,222	Goodwin, John E.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal .....	4	3,847	Muehlhoffer, Ray
		3,846	Oates, Dennis J.
		3,846	Weisler, Irving
		3,846	Scheuerman, Edward
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car.....	3	3,334	Randolph, A. Philip
		3,333	Webster, Milton P.
		3,333	Dellums, C. L.
Post Office and Postal Transportation Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers, National Association of .....	1	1,200	Carniato, Andrew W.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Postal Transport Association, National.....	4	{ 5,618 5,617 5,617 5,617	Thomas, Wm. Reilly, John L. Nagle, Paul A. Legge, W. J., Jr.
Potters, International Brotherhood of Oper- ative .....	4	{ 5,853 5,853 5,853 5,852	Hull, Frank Ansell, Lance Coberly, Ray Dales, C. Frank
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	{ 800	Brockwell, Harold D.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International .....	7	{ 12,496 12,496 12,495 12,495 12,495 12,495 12,495	Dunwoody, Thomas E. Googe, George L. Maxted, F. W. De Andrade, Anthony J. Turner, Walter Torrence, Jack P. Rohan, A. J.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of .....	8	{ 19,219 19,219 19,219 19,219 19,219 19,218 19,218	Burke, John P. Meinz, Elmer P. Stewart, Charles E. Tonelli, Joseph Segal, Henry Cianciulli, Bernard Wray, Harriet Jackman, Chris
Radio and Television Directors Guild .....	1	{ 800	Burnett, Newman H.
Radio Association, American .....	2	{ 790 790	Smith, Bernard L. Steinberg, William J.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	9	{ 15,430 15,430 15,430 15,430 15,429 15,429 15,429 15,429	Spradling, A. L. Berrong, Sam B. Mastrian, Michael M. White, Louis R. Galasso, Vincent Shaughnessy, Frank L. McNamara, Daniel J. Mischo, O. J. White, Louis R.
Railway Patrolmen's International Union.....	1	{ 2,923	Macdonald, John V.
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.	9	{ 10,782 10,782 10,782 10,782 10,782 10,781 10,781 10,781 10,781	Greenberg, Max Heaps, Alvin E. Paley, Jack Bail, Alex Osnian, Arthur Kovenetsky, Sam Livingston, David Sum, Julius Leone, Thomas
Roofers, Damp Waterproof Workers Associa- tion, United .....	4	{ 4,452 4,452 4,452 4,452	Aquadro, Charles D. Moore, Dean McConaty, John A. Vetter, Ben D.
Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United .....	11	{ 14,844 14,844 14,844 14,844 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843	Buckmaster, L. S. Childs, Joseph W. Walker, Desmond Toole, Josh Lewis, G. L. Bowers, E. K. Hester, E. E. Allison, Norman Campos, Antone L. Garber, Robert E. Skiffington, John





## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Transport Workers Union of America .....	8	10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000 10,000	Quill, Michael J. Faber, Gustav Guinan, Mathew Attreed, Eugene V. Sheehan, Frank O'Rourke, Paul Horst, James F. Lopez, John
Typographical Union, International .....	7	11,142 11,142 11,142 11,142 11,141 11,141 11,141	Randolph, Woodruff Moriarty, J. Arthur Hathaway, Ernest M. Reilly, Wallace C. Hermann, Lewis M. Brigham, Fred H. Peth, Thomas
Upholsterers' International Union of North America .....	6	8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436	Hoffman, Sal B. Rota, Alfred R. Bemshardt, Tony Bucher, George Albarino, R. Alvin Kohn, William
Utility Workers Union of America .....	7	7,551 7,551 7,551 7,551 7,550 7,550 7,550	Fisher, Joseph A. Fachler, William J. Straub, Harold J. Munger, William R. McGrath, Patrick Watson, James T. Brown, Reginald
Woodworkers of America, International .....	9	10,146 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145	Hartung, A. F. Botkin, William Dicey, J. E. Nelson, Harvey R. Sullivan, Tim Johnson, Gordon Anderson, Arley Fadling, J. E. Gardiner, Howard
Yardmasters of America, Railroad .....	2	2,000 2,000	Schoch, Milton G. Meyer, W. Fred

## DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes cast by each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Building and Construction Trades Department	1	1	Gray, Richard J.
Maritime Trades Department .....	1	1	Weisberger, Morris
Metal Trades Department .....	1	1	Brownlow, James A.
Railroad Employes' Department .....	1	1	Fox, Michael
Union Label and Service Trades Department..	1	1	Leheney, Raymond F.

## STATE CENTRAL BODIES

Alabama .....	1	1	Holley, P. G.
Alabama .....	1	1	Robertson, Cecil A.
Alaska .....	1	1	McFarland, R. E.
Arizona .....	1	1	Brown, Keene S.
Arizona .....	1	1	Dragon, Nicholas
Arkansas .....	1	1	McKimmey, Vernon E.
Arkansas .....	1	1	Ellison, George H.
California .....	1	1	Haggerty, C. J.
California .....	1	1	Dias, Manuel
Colorado .....	1	1	Van Portfliet, Frank G.
Colorado .....	1	1	Anderson, R. C.
Connecticut .....	1	1	Rourke, Joseph M.
Connecticut .....	1	1	Sviridoff, Mitchell
Delaware .....	1	1	Derrickson, Gene
Delaware .....	1	1	Colatriano, Charles
Florida .....	1	1	Roche, Frank G.
Florida .....	1	1	Walton, Howard D.
Georgia .....	1	1	King, F. H.
Georgia .....	1	1	Montague, W. H., Sr.
Idaho .....	1	1	McIntire, Elmer F.
Idaho .....	1	1	Beattie, Albert G.
Illinois .....	1	1	Soderstrom, Reuben G.
Illinois .....	1	1	McElligott, Maurice F
Indiana .....	1	1	Mullen, Carl H.
Indiana .....	1	1	Sells, Dallas
Iowa .....	1	1	Mills, Ray
Iowa .....	1	1	Dale, Vernon
Kansas .....	1	1	Black, F. E.



ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Kansas .....	1	1	Yount, H. J.
Kentucky .....	1	1	Coke, Oscar J.
Kentucky .....	1	1	Billingsley, Wm. F.
Louisiana .....	1	1	Bourg, E. J.
Louisiana .....	1	1	Flory, K. G.
Maine .....	1	1	Dorsky, Benjamin J.
Maine .....	1	1	Jabar, George
Maryland-District of Columbia .....	1	1	Preller, Clement F.
Maryland .....	1	1	Windsor, Culver B.
Massachusetts .....	1	1	Kelley, Kenneth J.
Massachusetts .....	1	1	Camelio, Salvatore
Michigan .....	1	1	Thorpe, John H.
Michigan .....	1	1	Scholle, August
Minnesota .....	1	1	Sherburne, Neil C.
Minnesota .....	1	1	Jacobson, Rodney C.
Mississippi .....	1	1	Hines, W. L.
Mississippi .....	1	1	Hanna, J. B.
Missouri .....	1	1	Rollings, John I.
Missouri .....	1	1	Davis, James A.
Montana .....	1	1	Umber, James S.
Montana .....	1	1	Leary, James J.
Nebraska .....	1	1	Preble, Gordon C.
Nebraska .....	1	1	Stocker, J. H.
Nevada .....	1	1	Ryan, James G.
New Hampshire .....	1	1	Moriarty, Joseph
New Hampshire .....	1	1	Pitarsy, Thomas
New Jersey .....	1	1	Marciante, Louis P.
New Jersey .....	1	1	Krebs, Paul
New Mexico .....	1	1	Roberts, W. S.
New York .....	1	1	Murray, Thomas A.
New York .....	1	1	Hollander, Louis
North Carolina .....	1	1	Barbee, W. M.
North Carolina .....	1	1	Holder, J. W.
Ohio .....	1	1	Hannah, Phil
Ohio .....	1	1	Clayman, Jacob
Oklahoma .....	1	1	Gillen, James A.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Oklahoma .....	1	1	Yarborough, Len
Oregon .....	1	1	Marr, James T.
Oregon .....	1	1	Brown, George
Pennsylvania .....	1	1	McDonough, Joseph A.
Pennsylvania .....	1	1	Boyer, Harry
Puerto Rico .....	1	1	Marcano, Hipolito
Rhode Island .....	1	1	Brown, Edwin C.
Rhode Island .....	1	1	PolICASTRO, Thomas F.
South Carolina .....	1	1	Britton, Earle, R.
South Carolina .....	1	1	Knox, L. B.
South Dakota .....	1	1	Maag, Albert J.
Tennessee .....	1	1	Smith, Stanton E.
Tennessee .....	1	1	Evans, Leonard
Texas .....	1	1	Holleman, Jerry R.
Texas .....	1	1	Schmidt, Fred
Utah .....	1	1	Turner, David S.
Utah .....	1	1	Konkle, Ormond
Vermont .....	1	1	St. Armour, C. E.
Vermont .....	1	1	Driscoll, Morris
Virginia .....	1	1	Welsted, I. C.
Virginia .....	1	1	Carper, Julian F.
Washington .....	1	1	Weston, E. M.
Washington .....	1	1	Slater, Harold
West Virginia .....	1	1	Carter, E. A.
West Virginia .....	1	1	Rusen, Paul
Wisconsin .....	1	1	Haberman, George A.
Wisconsin .....	1	1	Walter, Wilbert
Wyoming .....	1	1	Tucker, Frank E.
Wyoming .....	1	1	Krusee, E. S.

## CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

Adrian, Mich. ....	1	1	Baker, Everett
Akron, Ohio .....	1	1	Radabaugh, L. W.
Albany, N. Y. ....	1	1	Cerutti, Joseph P.
Albuquerque, New Mex. ....	1	1	McCoy, J. B.
Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va. ....	1	1	Koehne, Herbert M.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Alton, Ill. ....	1	1	Blakely, James E.
Anchorage, Alaska ....	1	1	Groothuis, Harold
Ann Arbor, Mich. (Washtenaw County) ....	1	1	Predmore, Wayne
Ashland County, Ohio ....	1	1	Hackett, Wade A.
Astoria, Oregon ....	1	1	McClure, M. J.
Atlanta, Ga. ....	1	1	Moore, J. O.
Atlantic City, N. J. ....	1	1	Moretti, John
Auburn, N. Y. ....	1	1	Maggio, Canio
Augusta, Ga. ....	1	1	Rowe, W. A.
Baltimore, Md. ....	1	1	Filbey, Francis S.
Barberton, Ohio ....	1	1	Whitman, Lewis
Barre, Vt. ....	1	1	Dykeman, Frederick
Baton Rouge, La. ....	1	1	Conran, Robert I.
Bay City, Mich. ....	1	1	Wolfgang, Myra K.
Beaver County, Pa. ....	1	1	Russo, James J.
Bedford, Ind. ....	1	1	Ashley, James
Belleville, Ill. ....	1	1	Reichling, William P.
Benton Harbor, Mich. ....	1	1	Knox, Taylor Marshall, Sr.
Bergen County, N. J. ....	1	1	Seward, Arthur
Binghamton, N. Y. ....	1	1	Quain, Maurice J.
Birmingham, Ala. ....	1	1	Medders, Johnny
Blair County, Pa. ....	1	1	Lane, Thomas F.
Bloomington, Ind. ....	1	1	Whitehurst, Earl
Blue Island, Ill. ....	1	1	Nielubowski, Robert A.
Boston, Mass. ....	1	1	McCloskey, Stephen E.
Bridgeport, Conn. ....	1	1	Regnery, Frank
Brockton, Mass. ....	1	1	Brides, Henry
Bucks County, Pa. ....	1	1	Rodgers, Henry J.
Buffalo, N. Y. ....	1	1	Higgins, John J.
Butler, Pa. ....	1	1	Sabel, Joseph H.
Calumet, Ill. ....	1	1	Moenich, Joseph
Cambridge, Mass. ....	1	1	Sullivan, Edward T.
Camden, N. J. ....	1	1	McComb, Joseph J.
Canton, Ohio ....	1	1	Pollock, Sam
Carbondale, Pa. ....	1	1	Fitch, Clyde O.
Centre County, Pa. ....	1	1	Fisher, Marlin M.

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Charleston, W. Va. (Kanawha Valley) .....	1	1	Rebhan, Frank A.
Chattanooga, Tenn. ....	1	1	Cuthbert, Brownie H.
Chehalis and Centralia, Wash. ....	1	1	Bradley, A. A.
Chicago, Ill. ....	1	1	Lee, William A.
Chicago Heights, Ill. ....	1	1	Johnson, Jeff O.
Cincinnati, Ohio ....	1	1	Hurst, John J.
Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash. ....	1	1	Smith, William R.
Clearfield County, Pa. ....	1	1	Caldwell, Clifton C.
Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	1	Finegan, William
Clinton County, Pa. ....	1	1	Beglar, Sam
Colorado Springs, Colo. ....	1	1	Cavender, George A.
Columbus, Ind. ....	1	1	Taylor, Wesley I.
Columbus, Ohio ....	1	1	Vesay, Albert D.
Contra Costa County, Calif. ....	1	1	Cooper, Bernice
Council Bluffs, Iowa ....	1	1	Pardekooper, Martin
Dade County, Fla. ....	1	1	Nuckols, Burton P.
Dallas, Tex. ....	1	1	Terrell, George
Danville, Ky. ....	1	1	Bugher, Forrest
Dayton, Ohio ....	1	1	Breidenbach, John E.
Daytona Beach, Fla. ....	1	1	Palmer, Bob
Decatur, Ala. ....	1	1	McDuffie, W. W.
Delaware County, Pa. ....	1	1	Mullen, Jack
Denver, Colo. ....	1	1	Youngs, James R.
Des Moines, Iowa ....	1	1	Jeffries, Ben E.
Detroit, Mich. (Wayne County) ....	1	1	Gibson, James G.
Dover, N. J. ....	1	1	Butler, Robert S.
Duluth, Minn. ....	1	1	Olson, Robert A.
East Liverpool, Ohio ....	1	1	Duffy, Frank
Easton, Pa. ....	1	1	Seifert, Stewart A.
East St. Louis, Ill. ....	1	1	Pirtle, Charles A.
Elgin, Ill. ....	1	1	Ehlert, Glen
Elizabeth, N. J. ....	1	1	Cushing, George F.
Elyria, Ohio ....	1	1	Herman, Wayne
Erie, Pa. ....	1	1	Ricci, Michael
Esanaba, Mich. ....	1	1	Allingham, R. Earle

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Evanaville, Ind. ....	1	1	Soucie, John G.
Five Counties, Calif. ....	1	1	Gilleran, Frank
Flint, Mich. ....	1	1	Clark, Gilbert
Fort Wayne, Ind. ....	1	1	Kepler, Wayne
Fresno, Calif. ....	1	1	O'Rear, W. T.
Galesburg, Ill. ....	1	1	Moon, William H.
Geneva, N. Y. ....	1	1	Brennan, Henry S.
Gibson County, Ind. ....	1	1	Harpe, Ralph
Grand Island, Nebr. ....	1	1	Mundy, Leonard
Grand Rapids, Mich. ....	1	1	Amsterburg, Robert J.
Grundy County, Ill. ....	1	1	King, John
Hagerstown, Md. ....	1	1	Lushbaugh, Lester
Harrisburg, Pa. ....	1	1	Kline, Alan E.
Hartford, Conn. ....	1	1	Scott, William
Honolulu, T. H. ....	1	1	Reile, A. S.
Hopkinsville, Ky. ....	1	1	Ezelle, Sam
Houston, Texas ....	1	1	Coward, N. E.
Hudson County, N. J. ....	1	1	Quinn, Joseph G.
Indianapolis, Ind. ....	1	1	Roberts, Jacob R.
Jackson County, Mich. ....	1	1	French, Charles
Jackson, Miss. ....	1	1	Ross, Holt
Jackson, Tenn. ....	1	1	McLemore, E. Brooks
Jamestown, N. Y. ....	1	1	Ritzo, George T.
Jasper, Ala. ....	1	1	Barnett, E. J.
Jefferson City, Mo. ....	1	1	Howser, Victor
Johnson City, Tenn. ....	1	1	Houk, Charles M.
Johnstown, Pa. ....	1	1	Arcurie, Frank
Joliet, Ill. (Will County) ....	1	1	Miller, S. P.
Juneau, Alaska ....	1	1	McFarland, R. E.
Kalamazoo, Mich. ....	1	1	Bailey, Florence
Kansas City, Kans. ....	1	1	Harrison, Geo. J.
Kansas City, Mo. ....	1	1	Raymond, Hugh L.
Kenosha, Wis. ....	1	1	Whiteside, Paul
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky. ....	1	1	Koester, William B.
Keokuk, Iowa ....	1	1	Weiny, Vivian
Klamath Falls, Oregon ....	1	1	Sweetman, Alma

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Knoxville, Tenn. ....	1	1	Comer, Fred F.
Lake Charles, La. ....	1	1	Prater, M. L.
Lake County, Colo. ....	1	1	Bell, Charles J.
Lake County, Ind. ....	1	1	Schutz, Fred F.
Lancaster, Ohio ....	1	1	Freeman, Henry
Lansing, Mich. ....	1	1	Borst, Tom
Laramie, Wyo. ....	1	1	Walter, W. J.
Lawrence, Mass. ....	1	1	Callahan, John A.
Lawrence County, Pa. ....	1	1	Davis, Richard C.
Leavenworth, Kans. ....	1	1	Townsend, George
Lebanon County, Pa. ....	1	1	McCarten, George
Lexington, Ky. ....	1	1	Gregg, Turner W.
Livingston, Mont. ....	1	1	Collins, John D.
Long Beach, Calif. ....	1	1	Brown, Edward L.
Longview, Tex. ....	1	1	Johnson, A. R.
Lorain City, Ohio ....	1	1	Scheid, Richard
Los Angeles, Calif. ....	1	1	Bassett, W. J.
Louisville, Ky. ....	1	1	Blume, Norbert
Lowell, Mass. ....	1	1	Le Bow, Sidney E.
Lynn, Mass. ....	1	1	Donovan, John F.
McKeesport, Pa. ....	1	1	Hagarty, Nicholas J.
Macomb County, Mich. ....	1	1	Carver, K. Jack
Macon, Ga. ....	1	1	Pate, J. B.
Madison, Wis. ....	1	1	Huffman, Richard H.
Malden, Mass. ....	1	1	Regan, John J.
Manchester, N. H. ....	1	1	Martel, Louis I.
Marysville, Calif. ....	1	1	Weakley, Ronald T.
Memphis, Tenn. ....	1	1	Gorman, John R.
Meriden, Conn. ....	1	1	Depaolo, Joseph N.
Michigan City, Ind. ....	1	1	Maddocks, William
Middletown, Ohio ....	1	1	Lukens, Robert M.
Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	1	Friedrick, J. F.
Minneapolis, Minn. ....	1	1	Crammond, Walter R.
Mobile, Ala. ....	1	1	Griffin, Carl E.
Modesto, Calif. ....	1	1	Green, C. Al.
Monroe, La. ....	1	1	Kreger, Fred

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes cast by each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Monterey Peninsula, Calif. ....	1	1	Wilson, George J.
Montgomery, Ala. ....	1	1	Williams, Ted
Moses Lake, Wash. ....	1	1	Gibson, Harold J.
Muncie, Ind. ....	1	1	McMahan, George
Munising, Mich. ....	1	1	Wilderspin, Charles
Muscatine, Iowa ....	1	1	Bayers, Gerald L.
Muskegon County, Mich. ....	1	1	Pierce, Arthur M.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. J. ....	1	1	MacGregor, Robert W.
Newark, N. J. (Essex Trades) ....	1	1	Fuchs, Morris
Newark, Ohio ....	1	1	Muhleman, Forest R.
New Bedford, Mass. ....	1	1	Vertente, John, Jr.
New Britain, Conn. ....	1	1	O'Brien, Francis W.
New Brunswick, N. J. ....	1	1	Hallenbeck, Edwin F.
New Orleans, La. ....	1	1	Soule, Robert L.
Newport, R. I. ....	1	1	Fournier, Albert
New York, N. Y. ....	1	1	Quinn, James C.
Niagara Falls, N. Y. ....	1	1	Jordan, Harry S.
Norfolk, Va. ....	1	1	Paul, C. H.
North Platte, Nebr. ....	1	1	Atwood, Fern
Northumberland County, Pa. ....	1	1	Miller, Edward H.
Oakland, Calif. ....	1	1	Ash, Robert S.
Onk Ridge, Tenn. ....	1	1	Sylvia, Theodore M.
Oklahoma City, Okla. ....	1	1	Held, John K.
Oleann, N. Y. ....	1	1	Myrick, Osborn
Omaha, Nebr. ....	1	1	Silhasek, Joseph
Orange County, Calif. ....	1	1	Hull, Wayne J.
Oregon City, Oregon ....	1	1	Sweet, Gertrude
Oswego, N. Y. ....	1	1	Rose, Martin
Ottumwa, Iowa ....	1	1	Baum, Earl J.
Paducah, Ky. ....	1	1	Kerth, O. L.
Pasadena, Calif. ....	1	1	De Silva, Joseph T.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash. ....	1	1	Loiseau, Lionel
Passaic County, N. J. ....	1	1	Maso, Sal
Pawtucket, R. I. ....	1	1	Carey, Hope V.
Peoria, Ill. ....	1	1	Rimington, Anna C.
Perth Amboy, N. J. ....	1	1	Soltes, John

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Petaluma, Calif. ....	1	1	Thornton, Sylvan
Petersburg-Hopewell, Va. ....	1	1	Butler, John R.
Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	1	1	Feigel, John A.
Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	1	Blumberg, Norman
Phoenix, Ariz. ....	1	1	Sebestyen, George S.
Polk County, Fla. ....	1	1	Hunley, Noel R.
Pomona Valley, Calif. ....	1	1	Hyans, Curtis J.
Pontiac-Oakland, Mich. ....	1	1	Cover, Alex
Port Huron, Mich. ....	1	1	Delaney, Raymond A.
Portland, Maine ....	1	1	Howe, Horace E.
Portland, Oregon ....	1	1	Anderson, Gust
Portsmouth, N. H. ....	1	1	Sheehan, Thomas E.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y. ....	1	1	Sorenson, William
Providence, R. I. ....	1	1	Di Sano, Salvatore
Quincy, Ill. ....	1	1	Trine, Oscar
Quincy, Mass. ....	1	1	Wipfler, John
Reading and Berks County, Pa. ....	1	1	Haletsky, John T.
Renton, Wash. ....	1	1	McDonald, Jack
Richmond, Ind. ....	1	1	Dean, William E.
Richmond, Va. ....	1	1	Boyd, Harold
Riverside, Calif. ....	1	1	Williams, Sam K.
Roanoke, Va. ....	1	1	Myers, R. E.
Rochester, N. Y. ....	1	1	Burke, James L.
Sacramento, Calif. ....	1	1	Finks, Harry
Saginaw, Mich. ....	1	1	Mclivain, G. N.
St. Helens, Oregon ....	1	1	Hill, Roy C.
St. Joseph, Mo. ....	1	1	Welsh, Warren S.
St. Louis, Mo. ....	1	1	Webb, William A.
St. Paul, Minn. ....	1	1	Schleifer, Frank J.
Salem County, N. J. ....	1	1	Schachter, Leon B.
Salem, Oregon ....	1	1	Egan, L. E.
Salisbury, Md. (Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula) ....	1	1	Cohen, Harry
Salt Lake City, Utah ....	1	1	Evans, Don R.
San Antonio, Texas ....	1	1	Tyler, Julia
San Bernardino, Calif. ....	1	1	Howard, J. W.
San Diego County, Calif. ....	1	1	Quimby, John W.



## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
San Mateo, Calif. ....	1	1	Ballerini, Anthony
Sandusky, Ohio ....	1	1	Kistler, Forrest
San Francisco, Calif. ....	1	1	Johns, George W.
San Pedro-Wilmington, Calif. ....	1	1	Seltzer, Richard J.
San Rafael, Calif. ....	1	1	Rotel, Thomas A.
Santa Monica, Calif. ....	1	1	Pitts, Thomas L.
Savannah, Ga. ....	1	1	Cain, John Wesley
Schenectady, N. Y. ....	1	1	Carmichael, Richard J.
Scranton, Pa. ....	1	1	Downes, Joseph L.
Seattle, Wash. ....	1	1	Carr, Harry L.
Sedalia, Mo. ....	1	1	Bowles, Otto
Shreveport, La. ....	1	1	Bussie, Victor
South Bend, Ind. ....	1	1	Bardars, Tex. W.
South Chicago, Ill. ....	1	1	Doyle, Frank E.
Springfield, Ill. ....	1	1	Bonansinga, Sam
Springfield, Mass. ....	1	1	Surprenant, Roy J.
Springfield, Mo. ....	1	1	Cline, J. Frank
Stamford, Conn. ....	1	1	Friend, George M.
Syracuse, N. Y. ....	1	1	Ferrante, Nicholas
Texas City, Texas ....	1	1	Le Unes, G. J.
The Dalles, Oregon ....	1	1	Scanlon, Thomas L.
Tillamook, Oregon ....	1	1	Howard, William H.
Toledo, Ohio ....	1	1	Fischer, Frank
Topeka, Kans. ....	1	1	Robinson, H. V.
Trenton, N. J. ....	1	1	Dunn, Thomas J.
Trumbull County, Ohio ....	1	1	La Polla, Ruth M.
Tucson, Ariz. ....	1	1	Darland, Fara
Tulsa, Okla. ....	1	1	Vinall, R. P.
Urbana-Champaign, Ill. ....	1	1	James, Clifford H.
Utica, N. Y. ....	1	1	De Perno, R. J.
Ventura, Calif. ....	1	1	Cowan, Walter
Vincennes, Ind. ....	1	1	Reed, Walter
Visalia, Calif. (Tulare Co.) ....	1	1	Hyans, C. J. Curt
Washington, D. C. ....	1	1	McGuigan, F. H.
Waterbury, Conn. ....	1	1	Collins, Timothy M.
Watertown, N. Y. ....	1	1	Cunningham, F. Roger

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Waukesha, Wis. ....	1	1	Davis, John R.
Wayne County, Ohio ....	1	1	Dunlap, Cecil
Westchester County, N. Y. ....	1	1	Stauder, Lewis
Wichita, Kans. ....	1	1	Malcolm, W. W.
Wilkes Barre, Pa. ....	1	1	Matheson, Min Lurye
Willimantic, Conn. ....	1	1	La Pointe, Emmet F.
Willmar, Minn. ....	1	1	Burns, Don H.
Wilmington, Del. ....	1	1	Green, Leo B.
Worcester, Mass. ....	1	1	Saltus, Alfred A.
Wood River, Ill. ....	1	1	Harrelson, Frank
Yavapai County, Ariz. ....	1	1	Peterson, Paul M.
York County, Pa. ....	1	1	Hopkins, David J.
Youngstown, Ohio ....	1	1	Bishop, Charles G.

## LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

Bessemer, Ala. ....	1	1	McGinnis, F. C.
Birmingham, Ala. ....	1	1	Stafford, Donald D.
Gadsden, Ala. ....	1	1	Elkins, E. R.
Huntsville, Ala. ....	1	1	Hoffman, Frank N.
Mobile, Ala. ....	1	1	Schermer, Lillian F.
Montgomery County, Ala. ....	1	1	Battles, James W.
Tuscaloosa County, Ala. ....	1	1	Hnigler, Carey E.
Fort Smith, Ark. ....	1	1	Ellison, George
Greater Alameda County, Calif. ....	1	1	Drury, James
Contra Costa, Calif. ....	1	1	Angelo, Joseph
Los Angeles, Calif. ....	1	1	Lunceford, Albert T.
San Diego, Calif. ....	1	1	Curry, James H.
San Francisco, Calif. ....	1	1	Hellender, Arthur
Denver, Colo. ....	1	1	Pieper, Fred C.
Bridgeport, Conn. ....	1	1	Lavery, Edward J.
Bristol, Conn. ....	1	1	Elliott, Lottie
Hartford, Conn. ....	1	1	McQuiggan, Roger
Greater Naugatuck, Conn. ....	1	1	Mengacci, Raymond
New Haven, Conn. ....	1	1	Stapleton, William
Stamford, Conn. ....	1	1	Phelps, E. E.
Greater Waterbury, Conn. ....	1	1	Belsky, Herman

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
District of Columbia, Washington, D. C. ....	1	1	Monaghan, John L.
Duval County, Fla. ....	1	1	Gillman, C. H.
Atlanta, Ga. ....	1	1	Lester, Jesse
Cook County, Ill. ....	1	1	Smith, Ellaworth M.
Four Counties, Ill. ....	1	1	Grogg, Sam L.
Lake County, Ill. ....	1	1	Pearson, Harvey
LaSalle County, Ill. ....	1	1	Bollard, Robert D.
Peoria, Ill. ....	1	1	Watson, Peter J.
Rockford, Ill. ....	1	1	Foss, Robert
St. Clair County, Ill. ....	1	1	Cox, Val
Springfield, Ill. ....	1	1	England, Frank
Tri-City, Ill. ....	1	1	McBride, Lloyd
Will County, Ill. ....	1	1	Mlakar, Frank
DeKalb County, Ind. ....	1	1	Daniel, Franz E.
Delaware County, Ind. ....	1	1	Wells, John
Elkhart County, Ind. ....	1	1	Nitka, Clement
Evansville, Ind. ....	1	1	Pearce, Charles
Fayette County, Ind. ....	1	1	Jones, George P.
Fort Wayne, Ind. ....	1	1	Newer, Roy
Howard County, Ind. ....	1	1	Bedell, Daniel S.
Indianapolis, Ind. ....	1	1	Smith, Timothy
Lake County, Ind. ....	1	1	Truchan, John
Lawrence County, Ind. ....	1	1	Bartee, John
Madison County, Ind. ....	1	1	Goshring, Harold J.
New Castle, Ind. ....	1	1	Noel, Harlan J.
St. Joseph County, Ind. ....	1	1	Ladd, Stanley
Twin Counties, Ind. ....	1	1	Hutton, Carol M.
Vigo County, Ind. ....	1	1	Broshears, James R.
Wayne County, Ind. ....	1	1	Fritzmeier, Richard G.
Black Hawk County, Iowa ....	1	1	Dahl, Carl
Cedar Rapids, Iowa ....	1	1	Henry, Henry J.
Cerro Gordo, Iowa ....	1	1	Cronin, Frank
Des Moines, Iowa ....	1	1	Booth, Harry
Dubuque County, Iowa ....	1	1	Eskovitz, Rudolph
Ottumwa, Iowa ....	1	1	Henry, Ben
Sioux City, Iowa ....	1	1	Owens, Edris H.

## xxviii DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Webster County, Iowa .....	1	1	Leonard, Richard T.
Topeka, Kans. ....	1	1	Murphy, Willard
Wichita, Kans. ....	1	1	Taylor, James E.
Boyd and Greenup Counties, Ky. ....	1	1	Siebert, Henry
Louisville, Ky. ....	1	1	Cornett, Emil
Paducah Area, Ky. ....	1	1	Christopher, Paul R.
Central Maryland IUC, Md. ....	1	1	Brayton, Glenn R.
Greater Boston, Mass. ....	1	1	Horan, John J.
Greater Lawrence, Mass. ....	1	1	Arivella, Ralph D.
Greater New Bedford, Mass. ....	1	1	Carignan, George E.
Lynn, Mass. ....	1	1	Fuller, James E.
Western Massachusetts, Mass. ....	1	1	Greenberg, Herman
Worcester, Mass. ....	1	1	Lavin, James B.
Bay County, Mich. ....	1	1	McCreedy, Herbert T.
Cadillac County, Mich. ....	1	1	Barbour, Al
Calhoun County, Mich. ....	1	1	Morgan, James A.
Dickinson County, Mich. ....	1	1	Scouthwell, Henry
Grand Traverse, Mich. ....	1	1	Rogers, Charles A.
Greater Detroit and Wayne, Mich. ....	1	1	Novak, Mike
Greater Flint, Mich. ....	1	1	Finnin, Lawrence J.
Gogebic County, Mich. ....	1	1	Zonarich, N. A.
Greater Ingham County, Mich. ....	1	1	Tubbs, Elton E.
Jackson County, Mich. ....	1	1	Reuther, Victor G.
Kalamazoo, Mich. ....	1	1	Jackson, Clarence A.
Kent County, Mich. ....	1	1	Peterson, Florence
Lenawee County, Mich. ....	1	1	Conway, Jack T.
Macomb County, Mich. ....	1	1	Hopkins, Barney
Marquette County, Mich. ....	1	1	Chatak, Smoile
Monroe County, Mich. ....	1	1	Baker, George E.
Pontiac and Oakland, Mich. ....	1	1	Haggard, Fred V.
Port Cities, Mich. ....	1	1	Sexton, Brendon
Saginaw District, Mich. ....	1	1	Jasper, John T.
St. Clair County, Mich. ....	1	1	Gettlinger, Larry
Sturgis and St. Joseph Counties, Mich. ....	1	1	Carr, Lyle
Washtenaw County, Mich. ....	1	1	Reuther, Roy L.
Duluth, Minn. ....	1	1	Hockin, Stewart M.

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Hennepin County, Minn. ....	1	1	Bryant, John C.
Iron Range, Minn. ....	1	1	Krmpotich, Nick
St. Paul, Minn. ....	1	1	Rafferty, Charles
Greater Kansas City, Mo. ....	1	1	Capell, John R., Jr.
St. Joseph, Mo. ....	1	1	Lewis, William
St. Louis, Mo. ....	1	1	Ehrhardt, Oscar A.
Lincoln, Neb. ....	1	1	Starnes, D. W.
Omaha-Council Bluffs, Neb. ....	1	1	Garst, Delmond
Bergen County, N. J. ....	1	1	Donovan, Jeremiah
Burlington County, N. J. ....	1	1	Sternotti, Ernest
Central Jersey, N. J. ....	1	1	Kovacs, Charles
Essex-W. Hudson Counties, N. J. ....	1	1	Caldwell, Hugh
Hudson County, N. J. ....	1	1	Feola, Nicholas L.
Middlesex County, N. J. ....	1	1	Toth, Ernest J.
Passaic County, N. J. ....	1	1	Frawley, Christopher J.
South Jersey, N. J. ....	1	1	Meloni, Frank E.
Union County, N. J. ....	1	1	Trice, James
Greater Buffalo, N. Y. ....	1	1	Miller, James
Dunkirk Area, N. Y. ....	1	1	Hart, William J.
Finger Lakes, N. Y. ....	1	1	Maurillo, John J.
Jamestown Area, N. Y. ....	1	1	Olfano, Samuel
New York City, N. Y. ....	1	1	Iushewitz, Morris
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y. ....	1	1	Lindahl, Emil G.
Niagara County, N. Y. ....	1	1	Hilger, William S.
Oswego County, N. Y. ....	1	1	Lovas, Joseph
Rochester, N. Y. ....	1	1	Cooper, John H.
Schenectady Area, N. Y. ....	1	1	Morreale, Sandy
Greater Syracuse, N. Y. ....	1	1	Ewaniaszyk, John
Troy Area, N. Y. ....	1	1	Killian, Joseph C.
Upper Hudson Area, N. Y. ....	1	1	Cohen, Sy
Greater Utica, N. Y. ....	1	1	Molony, Joseph P.
Westchester, N. Y. ....	1	1	Riddett, Wilbur
Mecklenburg County, N. C. ....	1	1	Graham, John R.
Akron, Ohio ....	1	1	Dugan, Leo E.
Alliance, Ohio ....	1	1	McCaulley, R. J.
Ashtabula County, Ohio ....	1	1	Saverice, Fred

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Barberton, Ohio .....	1	1	Smethurst, Walter
Butler, Ohio .....	1	1	Vechazone, John G.
Greater Cincinnati, Ohio .....	1	1	Hellkamp, Edward B.
Cleveland, Ohio .....	1	1	Detirich, Ellwood S.
Columbiana, Ohio .....	1	1	Camens, Sam
Franklin County, Ohio .....	1	1	Mayfield, Harry E.
Licking County, Ohio .....	1	1	Cory, Charles L.
Lima Regional, Ohio .....	1	1	Winkeljohn, Harry
Lorain County, Ohio .....	1	1	Balogh, Eugene
Mahoning County, Ohio .....	1	1	Shipka, Albert
Marion County, Ohio .....	1	1	Burke, John
Masillon, Ohio .....	1	1	Green, John
Miami, Shelby, Darke Counties, Ohio .....	1	1	Fagan, Arthur
Montgomery County, Ohio .....	1	1	Kreutzer, Joseph
Muskingum County, Ohio .....	1	1	Turner, George
Portage County, Ohio .....	1	1	Kemmerly, Marie
Portsmouth, Ohio .....	1	1	Staiger, Wm. R.
Richland, Ohio .....	1	1	Young, James L.
Sandusky, Ohio .....	1	1	Kroll, Jack
Sandusky-Ottawa, Ohio .....	1	1	Lopez, Alfred
Stark County, Ohio .....	1	1	Wycoff, W. E.
Toledo, Ohio .....	1	1	Rediger, Howard H.
Tri-County, Ohio .....	1	1	Knapp, Harold E.
Trumbull County, Ohio .....	1	1	Dively, Henry A.
Washington County, Ohio .....	1	1	Lavelle, William V.
Oklahoma City, Okla. ....	1	1	L'Hoste, L. A.
Tulsa, Okla. ....	1	1	Rackleff, R. H.
Portland, Oregon .....	1	1	Brost, John M.
Allegheny Valley, Pa. ....	1	1	Haser, John
Armstrong County, Pa. ....	1	1	McCabe, Francis
Beaver County, Pa. ....	1	1	Sesti, Sam
Berks County, Pa. ....	1	1	Haas, Edward F.
Blair County, Pa. ....	1	1	Shamas, A. C.
Bucks County, Pa. ....	1	1	Flatch, Frank F.
Butler County, Pa. ....	1	1	Petrak, Michael A.
Chester County, Pa. ....	1	1	Reach, Michael

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Clearfield Centre County, Pa. ....	1	1	Maietta, Julia L.
Crawford County, Pa. ....	1	1	Ewing, William R.
Delaware County, Pa. ....	1	1	Roberts, William R.
Erie, Pa. ....	1	1	Jenkins, L. H.
Harrisburg Region, Pa. ....	1	1	Carcella, Hugh
Greater Johnstown, Pa. ....	1	1	Thomas, Russell
Greensburg Area, Pa. ....	1	1	Rhea, Dick W.
Lancaster County, Pa. ....	1	1	Medrick, Charles
Lawrence County, Pa. ....	1	1	Barberio, George T.
Lebanon County, Pa. ....	1	1	Englebach, Charles A.
Lehigh County, Pa. ....	1	1	Nejmeh, George
Lycoming County, Pa. ....	1	1	Pesotine, Joseph W.
Mifflin County, Pa. ....	1	1	Bailey, Joseph W.
Monongahela Valley, Pa. ....	1	1	Lasick, Frank
Montgomery County, Pa. ....	1	1	Quarry, John S., Sr.
Northampton, Pa. ....	1	1	Moran, William
Northumberland, Montour & Snyder Co., Pa. ....	1	1	Bittler, Carl
Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	1	Kelley, Joseph T.
Scranton-Lackawanna, Pa. ....	1	1	Patrick, Genevieve
Shenango County, Pa. ....	1	1	Nicholson, William C.
Steel City, Pa. ....	1	1	Federoff, Anthony J.
Tarentum District, Pa. ....	1	1	Schultz, Casmier F.
Venango County, Pa. ....	1	1	Atwell, Ross L.
Wilkes-Barre Area, Pa. ....	1	1	Merolla, Dominic
York County, Pa. ....	1	1	Harris, Lloyd B.
Greater Charleston, S. C. ....	1	1	Starnes, R. E.
Chattanooga, Tenn. ....	1	1	Frazier, W. B.
Knoxville, Tenn. ....	1	1	Derrick, Reece
Memphis, Tenn. ....	1	1	Crawder, Earl A.
Nashville, Tenn. ....	1	1	Ellis, Victor
Bexar County, Texas ....	1	1	Ellinger, W. Don
Dallas Area, Texas ....	1	1	Hardesty, A. R.
Houston Area, Texas ....	1	1	McCarty, Frank
Sabine Area, Texas ....	1	1	Goldberg, Arthur J.
Blue Ridge, Va. ....	1	1	Switzer, Silas
Richmond, Va. ....	1	1	Binford, Wm. M.

xxxii DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Roanoke, Va. ....	1	1	Keen, Paul S.
Tidewater, Va. ....	1	1	Pendleton, James A.
Grays Harbor, Wash. ....	1	1	Wickre, Julius
Seattle-King Counties, Wash. ....	1	1	DeShetler, Irwin L.
Spokane County, Wash. ....	1	1	Nimz, Earl
Tacoma, Wash. ....	1	1	Glenn, John M.
Cabell County, W. Virginia ....	1	1	Garner, George L.
Harrison County, W. Virginia ....	1	1	DeNucci, George
Kanawha County, W. Virginia ....	1	1	Stanley, Miles C.
Wheeling Region, W. Virginia ....	1	1	Bussa, Homer
Chippewa Valley, Wis. ....	1	1	Rettinger, George
Dane County, Wis. ....	1	1	Haywood, Albert
Fond du Lac, Wis. ....	1	1	Stamey, Leon
Kenosha County, Wis. ....	1	1	Maxin, Michael
La Crosse County, Wis. ....	1	1	Davidson, Robert J.
Milwaukee County, Wis. ....	1	1	Erchul, Fred A.
Racine County, Wis. ....	1	1	Norman, Loren
Rock County, Wis. ....	1	1	Michel, F. J.
Sheboygan County, Wis. ....	1	1	Graskamp, Allan
Waukasha County, Wis. ....	1	1	Kraus, Eugene
Winnebago County, Wis. ....	1	1	Lamotte, Leo

LOCAL UNIONS

14712, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	25	Borman, J.
15293, New York, N. Y. ....	1	30	Wolpert, William
16303, New York, N. Y. ....	1	914	Varrone, Anthony
18032, New York, N. Y. ....	1	449	Weintraub, Milton
18195, Scranton, Pa. ....	1	391	Milberger, Helen G.
18205, New York, N. Y. ....	1	409	Lufrano, Louis
18267, Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	541	Kozak, Andrew
18377, Brockton, Mass. ....	1	258	Lavigne, Francis E.
18456, Kenosha, Wis. ....	1	2,468	Colby, Howard
18527, Chicago, Ill. ....	1	210	Disselhorst, Lewis Earl
18558, La Crosse, Wis. ....	1	1,688	Ferris, Darrel
18579, Rochester, N. Y. ....	1	600	Stockmaster, Erwin



DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION *xxiii*

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAME OF DELEGATES
18671, Cleveland, Ohio .....	1	238	McCourt, William R.
18887, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	1,947	Dever, Alex I.
18919, Hartford, Conn. ....	1	578	Camarco, Rido
19322, Kenosha, Wis. ....	1	1,111	Madison, John H.
19340, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	348	Norbeck, W. J.
19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass. ....	1	659	Ricardi, Nello P.
19635, Muskegon, Mich. ....	1	695	Hansen, Ove Harry
19806, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	4,868	Le Clair, Wilbur
19981, Bellfonte, Pa. ....	1	955	Dolan, Harold
19985, Kenosha, Wis. ....	1	107	Ruffolo, Anthony
20037, Crockett, Calif. ....	1	1,216	Cooper, Charles Francis
20186, Barberton, Ohio ....	1	2,805	Sepelak, George F.
20311 (521 votes), 24768 (77 votes), Dayton, Ohio .....	1	598	Butts, Robert A.
20467, Chicago, Ill. ....	1	613	Dorfman, Paul J.
20499, New York, N. Y. ....	1	674	Daubman, Robert
20538, Auburn, N. Y. ....	1	441	Tuleya, Anna
20567, Malden, Mass. ....	1	271	Bishop, Thomas F.
20572, Toledo, Ohio ....	1	482	Tucker, Earl
20582, Springfield, Mass. ....	1	140	Maciolek, Michael
20665, Baltimore, Md. ....	1	106	Johns, Edward H.
20711, St. Louis, Mo. ....	1	16	Rubin, Maury E.
20890, Geneva, N. Y. ....	1	263	Amidon, Theodore
20909, Rochester, N. Y. ....	1	168	Harber, Elwood
21108, Hagerstown, Md. ....	1	306	Norris, James
21479, (230 votes)			
21480, (205 votes) Toronto, Ont., Can. ....	1	435	Federman, Max
21481, (59 votes) Toronto, Ont., Can. ....	1	59	Litvack, Al.
21538, Blackwell, Okla. ....	1	869	Campbell, O. C.
21625, New York, N. Y. ....	1	1,330	Silverman, Herman
21664, Syracuse, N. Y. ....	1	235	Galuski, Frank
21877, Chicago, Ill. ....	1	20	Klass, Irwin E.
21914, Watertown, Mass. ....	1	4,484	Percoco, Salvatore A.
21920, Newark, N. J. ....	1	265	Santos, William Serile
22006, Hamlin, N. Y. ....	1	634	Le Storti, James
22095, Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	92	Shapiro, Simon
22177, Detroit, Mich. ....	1	2,429	Del Campo, Albert

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
22254, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	1,382	Murphy, Eugene
22454, New Orleans, La. ....	1	369	Babin, Claude P.
22328, Knoxville, Tenn. ....	1	167	Frye, Conley P.
22543, Springfield, Ohio ....	1	86	Jones, Betty M.
22614, Moundsville, W. Va. ....	1	201	Mills, Charles
22623, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	1,795	Capitolo, Domenic
22625, Ashland, Ohio ....	1	197	Stackhouse, David
22636, East Chicago, Ind. ....	1	1,843	Longa, Adolph J.
22631, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	2,442	Greub, Alfred H.
22694, Brockton, Mass. ....	1	381	Picone, Joseph A.
22804, Springfield, Mass. ....	1	714	Sledziewski, Joseph
22812, Canton, Mass. ....	1	645	Darling, Joseph
23132, Passaic, N. J. ....	1	655	Truatt, Frank
23160, Balboa, C. Z. ....	1	48	Price, William M.
23221, Alton, Ill. ....	1	25	McCormick, Paul R.
23293, New York, N. Y. ....	1	516	Powers, Thomas
23433, Gowanda, N. Y. ....	1	222	Badurek, Joseph
23478, Canandaigua, N. Y. ....	1	268	Manganaro, Sam
23516, Niagara Falls, N. Y. ....	1	194	Gozdowiak, Henry
23628, Chicago, Ill. ....	1	217	Summerfield, Le Roy L.
23640, Princeton, Ind. ....	1	107	De Bord, James L.
23773, Dayton, Ohio ....	1	11	Anderson, James R.
23823, Newark, Ohio ....	1	278	Johnson, Derrell
23843, St. Paul, Minn. ....	1	15	Groner, L. E.
23866, Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	170	Porlic, Thomas J.
23908, Montreal, Que., Can. ....	1	579	Vincelette, Victor
23942, Lowell, Mass. ....	1	40	Ahearn, Thomas P.
23981, Albany, N. Y. ....	1	235	Gullo, Frank
23983, Syracuse, N. Y. ....	1	3,423	Stevenson, Wilfred
23985, Hagerstown, Md. ....	1	12	Butler, Elbert W.
24031, Worcester, Mass. ....	1	246	Dugan, Leo G.
24055, Lawrence, Mass. ....	1	45	Havey, John J.
24111, Milwaukee, Wis. ....	1	14	Taylor, Ray W.
24115, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	83	Czaplicki, John
24215, Winter Haven, Fla. ....	1	626	Pate, J. C.
24387, Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	419	Paukner, Otto J.

## DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
24410, Leadville, Colo. ....	1	1,120	Larch, Jess A.
24428, Evansville, Ind. ....	1	461	Hartig, Theodore L.
24472, Torrington, Conn. ....	1	223	Hohnke, Eric
24659, Rochester, N. Y. ....	1	583	Webb, Daniel R.
24760, Bridgeport, Conn. ....	1	701	Burns, James F.
24779, Buffalo, N. Y. ....	1	86	Wismar, Arthur H.
24787, Waukegan, Ill. ....	1	126	Foxworth, Charles E.
24832, Olean, N. Y. ....	1	199	Brown, Charles
24866, Washington, D. C. ....	1	22	Stanley, Mrs. Lee
24910, New York, N. Y. ....	1	1,383	McDonough, Patrick A.
24928, Ponce, P. R. ....	1	50	Grant, Pedro A.
24935, Gary, Ind. ....	1	20	Kuckson, Edmund C.

## LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

72 Amalgamated Office Workers, Detroit, Mich. ....	1	485	Averill, D. Elizabeth
83 Un. Dairy Wkrs., Detroit, Mich. ....	1	4,812	Stoner, Ralph F.
255 Un. Theater Emps., Clarksburg, W. Va. ....	1	6	McPeak, Carl A.
520 Printing & Paper Trades, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	701	McCaffrey, James
677 Un. Publication Workers, Brooklyn, New York ....	1	91	Blumstein, Samuel
798 Un. Bakery Wkrs., McKeesport, Pa. ....	1	92	Brophy, John
917 Un. Sugar Wkrs., Sugarland, Texas ....	1	547	Walker, Knox W.
934 Un. Pencil Wkrs., New York, N. Y. ....	1	589	Beardwood, James F.
984 Un. Foremen & Supervisors, LaCrosse, Wis. ....	1	59	Flannery, Robert G.
1162 Un. Motion Picture Employees, Lamarque, Texas ....	1	5	Allen, Carlin
1242 Un. Slag Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	1	159	Craig, George
1279 Un. Scrap & Salvage & Waste Material Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	1	103	Sanguigni, Samuel
1308 Local Industrial Union, Flint, Mich. ....	1	95	Finnin, Lawrence
1420 Un. Sugar Wkrs., Mathews, La. ....	1	207	Parr, George
1422 Un. Sugar Wkrs., Labadieville, La. ....	1	282	Pelet, Henry
1474 Un. Sugar Wkrs., Raceland, La. ....	1	102	Barranco, Charles
1475 Un. Sugar Wkrs., Montegut, La. ....	1	30	Riffe, John V.
1525 Uni. Construction Wkrs., South Bend, Ind. ....	1	30	Louis, James G.

## xxvi DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
1645 Roosevelt College Office Employees, Chi- cago, Ill. ....	1	70	White, Leland A.
1660 Un. Sugar Refinery Wkrs., So. Boston, Mass. ....	1	571	Hutton, Richard
1670 CWA-CIO Office Wkrs., Washington, D. C. ....	1	22	Schnar, Walter
1686 Un. Clerical Wkrs., South Bend, Ind. ...	1	22	Colwell, George
1693 Un. Office Employees, Cincinnati, Ohio. .	1	15	Shy, Arthur
1694 Un. Bank Employees, New York, N. Y. .	1	38	Titone, John
1695 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C. .	1	95	Moran, Thomas P.
1699 Un. Office Employees, Portland, Ore. ...	1	24	Dusten, Chester
1700 Un. Office Wkrs., Columbus, Ohio ....	1	38	Rooney, John R.
1705 Local Industrial Union, Whitewater, Wis. .	1	73	Murray, Tom
1719 Un. Office & Clerical Workers, Flint, Mich. ....	1	50	Frazer, Douglas A.
1727 Un. Office Wkrs., Akron, Ohio ....	1	54	Burla, Beulah M.
1729 Office Workers, Los Angeles, Calif. ....	1	47	Yuster, Sylvia A.
1733 Community & Social Agency Employees, Oakland, Calif. ....	1	53	Despol, John
1736 Federation Engineers, Chemists & Techni- cians, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1	23	Garrison, Oral L.
1738 Un. Office Employees, Milwaukee, Wis. ...	1	32	Graham, Sylvester
1746 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C. ...	1	22	Rubin, Eve
1752 Consolidated Services & Car Drivers, St. Louis, Mo. ....	1	91	Ryan, Arlanda
1771 Warehousemen and Drivers, Lincoln, Neb. ....	1	66	Oliver, Robert
1772 Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Long Island City, N. Y. ....	1	113	Rosenkrantz, John
1777 Duluth Fur Wkrs., Duluth, Minn. ....	1	26	Cuniff, John
1779 Un. Office Wkrs., Richmond, Va. ....	1	67	DuCuennois, T. D.
1782 Office Employees, Grand Rapids, Mich. ...	1	15	Sherwood, Lillian
1788 CWA Office Employees, Dallas, Texas ...	1	11	Starnes, R. W.
1793 Un. Publishing Emp., New York, N. Y. .	1	49	Mann, Michael
1794 Un Office and Clerical Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio ....	1	31	Eiben, Louis
1805 Amalgamated Office Workers, Indianap- olis, Ind. ....	1	28	Widman, William J.
1806 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Waterbury, Conn. ...	1	21	Belcinski, Mary
1811 Un. Bay Area Office Wkrs., San Fran- cisco, Calif. ....	1	12	Clark, Robert

DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION xxxvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
1812 Virgin Islands Labor Union, St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A. ....	1	30	King, Austin C.
1813 Federation of Shorthand Reporters, New York, N. Y. ....	1	45	Davidson, Jean
1814 CIO Sabine Area, Port Arthur, Texas ...	1	157	Dutton, Mrs. R. Z.
1821 Alaska Fishermen's Un., Seattle 11, Wash, 1	1	3,353	Smith, William J.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
135	National and International Unions .....	753	13,612,712
5	Departments .....	5	5
93	State Central Bodies .....	93	93
490	Central Labor Unions and Local Industrial Union Councils	490	490
148	Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions .....	146	75,943
871		1,487	13,689,243

**CONSTITUTION OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
AND  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

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**PREAMBLE**

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

**ARTICLE I**

**Name**

This Federation shall be known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is established pursuant to and as a result of a merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It shall consist of such affiliates as shall conform to its constitution and the rules and regulations adopted thereunder.

**ARTICLE II**

**Objects and Principles**

The objects and principles of this Federation are:

1. To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of affiliated unions.

2. To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization.

3. To affiliate national and international unions with this Federation and to establish such unions; to form organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with or chartered by the Federation; to establish, assist and promote state

and local central bodies composed of local unions of all affiliated organizations and directly affiliated local unions; to establish and assist trade departments composed of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

5. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.

6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

7. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.

8. To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.

9. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols; to promote the labor press and other means of furthering the education of the labor movement.

10. To protect the labor movement

from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.

11. To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.

12. While preserving the independence of the labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

### ARTICLE III

#### Affiliates

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of (1) affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees, (2) directly affiliated local unions (such as Local Trade Unions, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Industrial Unions) and national councils thereof, (3) state and local central bodies (such as State and Territorial Federations, City Central Labor Unions and Industrial Union Councils), and (4) trade and industrial departments.

Sec. 2. Each national and international union and each federal labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation and each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation shall retain its charter or certificate, which shall become and be a charter or certificate of this Federation and, by virtue of the same and as a result of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be an affiliate of this Fed-

eration and subject to its rules and regulations.

Sec. 3. Each such affiliate shall retain and enjoy the same organizing jurisdiction in this Federation which it had and enjoyed by reason of its prior affiliation with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In cases of conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions involving such affiliates the President and the Executive Council of this Federation shall seek to eliminate such conflicts and duplications through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger between the affiliates involved.

Sec. 4. The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. State and Territorial Federations of Labor and Local Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of

the adoption of this Constitution, and State and Local Industrial Union Councils affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall become and be affiliates of this Federation and shall, as such, continue to exist as state, territorial and local central bodies, each representing the respective federal labor unions or local industrial unions now affiliated to such central body and such local unions now affiliated to such central body as are affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation. Provided, however: That a merger of these state, territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council.

Sec. 6. Existing departments of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution shall continue as trade departments of this Federation with the rights of and subject to the rules governing trade and industrial departments provided in Article XII.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to issue charters or certificates of affiliation to organizations desiring to affiliate with this Federation. This power may be delegated to the President. Subject to the provisions of Sections 2 and 3 of this Article, charters or certificates of affiliation shall not be issued to national or international unions, organizing committees, or directly affiliated local unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of affiliated national or international unions, except with the written consent of such unions, and shall be based upon a strict recognition that both craft and industrial unions are equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization, and that each affiliated national and international union is entitled to have its autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction protected and preserved.



Sec. 8. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution no national or international union chartered by or affiliated with this Federation may be suspended from membership in the Federation except by a majority roll-call vote at the convention. No such national or international union shall have its charter or certificate of affiliation with the Federation revoked except by a two-thirds majority roll-call vote at the convention.

Sec. 9. No organization officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists, or other totalitarians, or whose policies and activities are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, shall be permitted as an affiliate of this Federation or any of its state or local central bodies.

Sec. 10. Affiliates of the Federation shall be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications in organization and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation.

## ARTICLE IV

### Convention

Section 1. The convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

Sec. 2. The regular conventions of the Federation shall be held every two years, beginning in 1955, at a time during the last four months of the year. The time and the place for holding the regular conventions shall be designated by the Executive Council which shall give at least 90 days' notice of the time and place designated.

Sec. 3. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of national and international unions representing a majority of the total membership of the Federation, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last convention.

(b) In the event a special conven-

tion has been called all affiliated organizations shall be given at least 30 days' notice, together with a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered at such convention.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

(d) A special convention shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Less than	4,000 members	....1 delegate
Over	4,000	" ....2 delegates
"	8,000	" ....3 "
"	12,000	" ....4 "
"	25,000	" ....5 "
"	50,000	" ....6 "
"	75,000	" ....7 "
"	125,000	" ....8 "
"	175,000	" ....9 "

plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 members over 175,000.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions.

Sec. 5. Delegates to a regular convention of the Federation shall be elected or otherwise designated by the affiliate at least 30 days prior to the convention, except in cases in which the convention of the affiliate meets within this 30-day period. The names of the delegates shall be forwarded to

the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation immediately after their selection.

Sec. 6. No organization that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by this Federation, the American Federation of Labor, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or by any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in the Federation, or in any subordinate body thereof, or in any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Federation for per capita tax or assessments for two months or more, shall be entitled to recognition or representation in the convention.

Sec. 7. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is selected to represent.

Sec. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local unions for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll-call votes at the convention shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid for the 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention. Where affiliation has occurred during this 24-month period, the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation, and the number of members shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of such average for each month for which per capita tax has been paid. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

Sec. 9. The President shall appoint,

in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention, and shall report thereon to the convention.

Sec. 10. (a) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by any convention of the Federation must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such matters have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a national or international union, or state central body, or national trade and industrial department held during this 30-day period in which event such proposals shall be received up to the opening date of the convention.

(b) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals received or submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that consideration of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

(c) Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

(d) Proposals emanating from state central bodies to receive consideration of a convention must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state central body involved. In the case of local central bodies any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor

body at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

(e) Each resolution, memorial, petition, or appeal properly received for consideration by the convention, as soon as practical after receipt thereof, shall be classified by the President as to nature, contents and subject matter and referred by him to an appropriate committee, which committee shall make a report thereon to the convention prior to consideration of any such matter by the convention. He shall cause to be distributed copies of such resolutions, petitions, memorials or appeals to the delegates of the convention at the opening session thereof or as soon thereafter as practical, but before any such matters are considered by the convention.

Sec. 11. Not less than 60 days prior to the opening of each regular convention, the Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicates shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Subject to the provisions of Section 5 of this Article, no credentials shall be accepted later than 20 days prior to the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 12. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Council shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions may be made to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 13. All members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates shall be ex-officio delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 14. Fraternal delegates attending conventions of the Federation shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 15. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 16. One-fourth of the delegates seated at any convention shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 17. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but a call of the roll may be demanded by 30 percent of the delegates present. Upon such roll-call each delegate representing affiliated national or international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall be entitled to cast one vote for every member whom he represents. Each state and local central body and national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 18. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be enforced from the opening of any convention of the Federation until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Sec. 19. Unless otherwise specified, any action taken by the convention shall take effect immediately upon adoption.

## ARTICLE V

### Officers

Section 1. The officers shall consist of a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 27 Vice Presidents.

Sec. 2. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

Sec. 3. The officers shall be elected by the convention by majority vote. Such election shall take place on the last day of the convention, unless otherwise determined by the convention. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any office and no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates and a second vote taken.

Sec. 4. Each officer elected at the convention shall take office immediately upon his election and shall serve until his successor is elected at the next regular convention.

Sec. 5. In the event of a vacancy in the office of either the President or the Secretary-Treasurer by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining executive officer shall perform the duties of the vacant office until a successor is elected. It shall be the duty of such executive officer to issue, within ten days of the date of the vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of this Federation, upon ten days' notice, for the purpose of electing an executive officer to fill said vacancy for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the period of the unexpired term.

Sec. 7. The national headquarters of the Federation shall be maintained by the Executive Officers at Washington, D. C.

Sec. 8. The Executive Officers shall, by virtue of their office, hold title to the real estate of the Federation as trustees for the Federation.

Sec. 9. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation or either of them may retire after reaching age 65 years, and after having served 20 years. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the Federation, or with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be included in determining length of service hereunder. In the event of retirement such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus and shall render service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the Federation for life in an amount, payable weekly, equal to 75 percent of the annual salary paid to the corresponding Executive Officer of this Federation.

Sec. 10. No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an Executive Officer or as a member of the Executive Council who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues

policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

## ARTICLE VI

### Duties of the President

Section 1. The President shall function as the chief executive officer of the Federation. He shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Federation, sign all official documents and preside at regular and special conventions, and at meetings of the Executive Council, Executive Committee and General Board. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council at least three times each year and a meeting of the General Board at least once each year.

Sec. 2. The President shall have authority to interpret the constitution between meetings of the Executive Council and his interpretation shall be conclusive and in full force and effect unless reversed or changed by the Executive Council or a convention.

Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a salary of \$35,000 per annum payable weekly.

Sec. 4. The appointment and compensation, direction, suspension and removal of organizers, representatives, agents and employees of the Federation shall be under the direction of the President.

Sec. 5. The President shall make a report of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Federation to the convention through the report of the Executive Council.

## ARTICLE VII

### Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

Section 1. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Federation and shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which moneys shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be in charge of and preserve all moneys, properties, securities and other evidences of investment, books, documents, files and effects of the

Federation which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue the call for and act as secretary at conventions, and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions and all sessions of the Executive Council and General Board to be recorded.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each national and international union, organizing committee, each trade and industrial department, state and local central bodies and each directly affiliated local union, to furnish the Secretary-Treasurer a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations together with a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data in their possession relating to the membership of such organizations as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the biennial convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$33,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall print quarterly, as a separate document, a financial statement of the Federation and forward a copy thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, directly affiliated local unions and local central bodies.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, from time to time, but no less than semi-annually, to provide for an audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions of the Federation by an independent public accountant. Such audits shall be furnished to the Executive Council and a biennial audit shall be furnished to the Convention.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, under the direction and instructions of the Executive Council, invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or deposit the same in a bank or banks.

## ARTICLE VIII

### Executive Council

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall be the governing body of this Federation between conventions. It is authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and to enforce the provisions contained in this constitution. Between conventions it shall have the power to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall meet upon the call of the President at least three times within each year at a time and place designated by the President.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, wherever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall prepare and present to the convention in printed form a statement of all matters of interest to the convention and of the activities of the Federation between conventions.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters consistent with this constitution and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 7. It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist, fascist or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic

trade unionism. The Executive Council, when requested to do so by the President or by any other member of the Executive Council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement or achievement of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, including a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 8. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Executive Council shall use every possible means to assist affiliated unions in the organization of the unorganized and to organize new national and international unions, organizing committees, and directly affiliated local unions.

Until such time as it is feasible to form a new national or international union composed of directly affiliated local unions or to affiliate such unions with an existing affiliated national or international union within whose jurisdiction they might properly come, the Executive Council may group such directly affiliated local unions, in a particular craft or industry, into national councils or organizing committees which shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Executive Council and the President.

Sec. 9. In carrying out the provi-

sions of this Article the Executive Council shall recognize that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization and that all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization.

Sec. 10. A majority of the members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Council.

Sec. 11. The Executive Council shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any Executive Officer of the Federation or other member of the Executive Council on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Council must serve such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council shall have the further power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, or to remove from office any officer, who is found by the Council, by a two-thirds vote after notice and hearing, to be ineligible to serve under the provisions of Article V, Section 10. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 13. In any case in which an affiliate has been suspended from membership in the Federation by the convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council in the cases set forth in Section 7 of this Article, and in which it is shown that the cause for such suspension no longer exists, the Executive Council shall have the power, upon a two-thirds vote, to terminate such suspension.

Sec. 14. No affiliated national or international union or organizing committee shall be permitted to change its title or name without first having obtained the consent and approval of the Executive Council or the convention.



Sec. 15. The Executive Council shall be authorized to reimburse members of the Council for necessary expenses in performing their duties for the Federation.

## ARTICLE IX

### Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet every two months and shall advise and consult with the President and Secretary-Treasurer on policy matters.

## ARTICLE X

### General Board

Section 1. The General Board of the Federation shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions and each trade and industrial department.

Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

Sec. 3. The General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Questions coming before the General Board shall be decided in accordance with the applicable provisions of Section 17 of Article IV of this Constitution with the president or other principal officer of each affiliated national or international union casting the vote of such union and with the president or other principal officer of each department casting the one vote of such department. The number of members of each national or international union on a roll-call vote of the General Board shall be deemed to be the number of members represented at the last preceding convention except in the case where affiliation has occurred subsequent to such convention or within a 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding such convention. In

such cases the number of members of such affiliate shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of the average membership for which per capita tax was paid for each month, prior to the meeting of the General Board, for which such tax was paid.

## ARTICLE XI

### Department of Organization

Section 1. The organizing work of this Federation as set forth in Article VIII, Section 8, shall be conducted by the Department of Organization under the general supervision of the President. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct such activities.

Sec. 2. The Department of Organization shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

## ARTICLE XII

### Trade and Industrial Departments

Section 1. The Trade and Industrial Departments shall be subordinate to the Federation and shall consist of the following: Building and Construction Trades Department; Metal Trades Department; Union Label and Service Trades Department; Maritime Trades Department; Railway Employees Department; and a department of industrial organizations to be known as Industrial Union Department, and such other departments as may be established by the Executive Council or the convention. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs and may establish local councils or railway system federations of departments. Affiliation to the departments in the Federation shall be open to all appropriate affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, international unions and organizing committees eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated to departments or to be directly affiliated to the Federation.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the Federation. No department, local council or railway system federation of the same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the Federation, and in the event of change of laws, rules, regulations and procedures of the latter, departments, local councils and railway system federations are to change their laws, rules, and regulations to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department is to be considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with the actions and decisions of such departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation. An organization affiliated with one or more departments shall pay per capita tax to each such department upon the number of members whose occupation comes under such department.

Sec. 6. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the Federation of the work done by their department and its general conditions.

Sec. 7. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the Federation, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 8. Departments of the Federation shall have their headquarters in Washington, D. C., and in the

headquarters of the Federation unless permitted to locate elsewhere.

## ARTICLE XIII

### Committees and Staff Departments

Section 1. The President of the Federation shall appoint the following standing committees and such other committees as may from time to time be necessary. The President with the approval of the Executive Council may combine standing committees. The committees, under the direction of the President, and subject to the authority of the Executive Council and the Convention, shall carry out their functions as described herein:

- (a) The Committee on Legislation shall undertake to carry out the policies and programs of the Federation in the Congress and in the legislatures of state and local governments;
- (b) The Committee on Civil Rights shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
- (c) The Committee on Political Education shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in meeting the need for sound political education and in bringing about the effective implementation of the objectives stated in this constitution of encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities;
- (d) The Committee on Ethical Practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the Federation to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
- (e) The Committee on International



Affairs shall be concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement;

- (f) The Committee on Education shall promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, shall assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels;
- (g) The Committee on Social Security shall have the responsibility of providing guidance and information in the fields of social insurance and welfare;
- (h) The Committee on Economic Policy shall undertake to recommend programs and policies toward the end of promoting prosperity, full employment and full utilization of our resources;
- (i) The Committee on Community Services shall stimulate the active participation by members and affiliated unions in the affairs of their communities and the development of sound relationships with social agencies in such communities;
- (j) The Committee on Housing shall advise on all matters relating to housing programs and policies;
- (k) The Committee on Research shall have the responsibility of reviewing and appraising the research activities of the Federation to the end that adequate research facilities are available to the Federation;
- (l) The Committee on Public Relations shall review and appraise the needs of the Federation in keeping the general public informed of the goals and policies of the Federation, the extent to which these needs are being met and shall make recommendations in this field;
- (m) The Committee on Safety and Occupational Health shall be vested with the responsibility of recommending and promoting ways in which the work places of our na-

tion can be made safe and healthful;

- (n) The Committee on Veterans Affairs shall keep all affiliates informed of the rights and benefits available to veterans under federal and state laws and shall propose measures to protect such rights and benefits;
- (o) All other committees shall have the function vested in them by the President, the Executive Council, or the convention, consistent with this constitution.

Sec. 2. Staff departments shall be established where appropriate under the direction of the President to function in the fields of activity described above and in such other fields as may be determined by the President, the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 3. The Committees and staff departments shall have adequate staff which shall be under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

## ARTICLE XIV

### State and Local Central Bodies

Section 1. Central bodies subordinate to the Federation may be established upon a city, state or other regional basis as may be deemed advisable by the Executive Council and shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of central labor bodies and providing procedures for

the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against central labor bodies, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such central bodies and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 4. Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any state or local central body, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of a state or local central body which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, or which has been placed under trusteeship under Section 3 of this Section, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 5. Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial

Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies.

## ARTICLE XV

### Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Federation is authorized to issue charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of organizing committees, national councils, and directly affiliated local unions, and governing the suspension, expulsion and termination of such organizations. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against such organizations, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken with respect to directly affiliated local unions, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such local unions and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any such organizations, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation, which shall to the extent appropriate hold such funds and property in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of any such organization which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended

or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into national or international unions, organizing committees or national councils when such action appears to be appropriate. Any local union directly affiliated to the Federation or a group of such local unions may request the Executive Council to authorize such combination.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into an organizing committee they shall become locals of the organizing committee. The organizing committee shall have the same status as a national or international union under this constitution except that it shall be under the direct supervision and control of this Federation, as provided herein.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into a national council they shall remain local unions directly affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions directly affiliated to it shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than eighty cents per month.

Sec. 5. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions which are affiliated with this Federation pursuant to Article III, Section 2, of this constitution shall be for all purposes local unions directly affiliated to the Federation under this and all other sections of the constitution.

Sec. 6. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Union of the American Federation of Labor, created under its constitution, shall be continued as a defense fund for local unions directly affiliated with this Federation, subject to the rules provided

for in Section 2 of this Article and subject to such provisions concerning contributions by and the eligibility of Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations as may be determined by the Executive Council.

## ARTICLE XVI

### Per Capita Tax and Assessments

Section 1. A per capita tax shall be paid upon the full paid up membership of each affiliated national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union.

Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 4 cents per member per month.

Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than 80 cents per member per month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions. Each directly affiliated local union shall also pay to the Federation a portion, to be fixed by the Executive Council, of the initiation fee received by such union from its members, but such payment to the Federation shall in no case be less than \$1.00 per member.

Sec. 4. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a convention. The Executive Council may also declare an assessment of not to exceed 4 cents per member per month on all affiliated unions for a period not to exceed six months in any one year when the interests of the Federation require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Any affiliated organization which does not pay its per capita tax on or before the fifteenth of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of that fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. Any af-

affiliated organization three months in arrears in payment of per capita tax or assessments automatically becomes suspended from membership in the Federation and can be reinstated only after such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 6. Each affiliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation, shall pay to the Federation the sum of \$15.00.

Sec. 7. Each state and local central body affiliated with the Federation shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of \$20.00.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council may exonerate any national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon a proper showing that, in the opinion of the Executive Council, good cause therefor exists. Exonerated members shall be regarded, for the purposes of this constitution, as paid up members for the period of exoneration.

#### ARTICLE XVII

##### Amendments

This constitution can be amended or altered only by the convention, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, either by a show of hands, or, if a roll-call is properly demanded as provided in this constitution, by such roll-call.

#### ARTICLE XVIII

##### Existing Agreements

Section 1. The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

Sec. 2. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it

irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

#### ARTICLE XIX

##### Initial Convention

Section 1. The provisions of this constitution shall govern the initial convention of the Federation except as otherwise provided in this Article.

Sec. 2. The initial convention shall be called, and the time and place determined, by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the conventions of the two federations.

Sec. 3. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number.

Sec. 4. Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly

affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 5. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of

the convention as may become necessary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

## ARTICLE XX

### Effective Date

This constitution and the Merger Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation.

## MERGER AGREEMENT

### AGREEMENT FOR THE MERGER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Signed February 9, 1955

#### 1. Agreement to Merge

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree to create a single trade union center in America, through the process of merger which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union. They further agree upon the following principles and the procedures to accomplish this end.

#### 2. Principles of Merger

(a) It is recognized, as a fundamental basis for the merger of the AFL and CIO, that each national and international union, federal labor union, local industrial union and organizing committee (hereafter referred to as affiliated union) holding a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by either federation shall retain its charter or certificate and become, by virtue of the merger, an affiliate of the merged federation.

(b) It is further recognized and agreed that the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved. In order to effectuate this principle, the Constitution of the merged federation shall contain a constitutional declaration for respect by each affiliate of the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and against raiding by any affiliate of the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The merged federation shall provide appropriate machinery to implement this constitutional declaration.

(c) The parties further agree that, subject to the foregoing, each affil-

ated union shall have the same organizing jurisdiction in the merged federation as it had in its respective prior organization.

(d) The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger, or other means, by voluntary agreement in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation.

(e) The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization.

(f) The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about, at the earliest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination.

(g) The merged federation shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influence and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination to keep the merged federation free from any taint of corruption or communism.

### 3. Government and Structure of the Merged Federation

(a) There shall be established within the merged federation a Department to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations. Such Department shall have the status of, and, in general, be comparable to, the existing Departments of the American Federation of Labor, which Departments shall be continued within the merged federation. This Department shall be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation. All other Departments in the merged federation shall be open to all appropriate unions.

(b) The executive officers of the merged federation shall be a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. Initially, the President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected from the unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(c) The Department of Organization of the merged federation shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Initially, the Director of Organization shall be selected from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct organizational activities in cooperation with the various affiliated unions, in the common effort to organize the unorganized into collective bargaining units which experience has shown to be the most effective and appropriate for the protection of such workers.

(d) The Convention of the merged federation shall be its supreme governing body. The convention shall meet regularly every two years. The delegates of affiliated unions to such convention shall vote the per capita membership of the unions which they represent. State and local central bodies shall be entitled to one vote each at conventions.

(e) In addition to the officers set forth in paragraph (b), there shall be twenty-seven Vice Presidents, to be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. The Vice Presidents shall, with the executive officers, constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall meet not less than three times each year. It shall be authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as will be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and between conventions shall have the power to direct the affairs of the federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose. At the first convention of the merged federation, seventeen of the Vice Presidents shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and ten shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(f) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the Executive Officers and six of the Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet bi-monthly and shall advise and consult with the executive officers on policy matters. Initially, three of the Vice Presidents constituting the Executive Committee shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the AFL and three of the Vice Presidents shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the CIO.

(g) There shall be a body known as the General Board which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and the President or other principal officer of each of the national or international unions affiliated with the merged federation. The General Board shall meet at least once each year and shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the executive officers, and the Executive Council. The rules of the convention as to voting shall govern the General Board.



(h) The constitution of the merged federation shall provide for standing committees of the federation in appropriate fields of action. These committees shall have appropriate staffs and due recognition shall be given to unions now affiliated with the AFL and the CIO in determining the chairmanships of, and in staffing, such committees.

(i) The constitution shall provide for state and local central bodies of the merged federation. In addition, the constitution shall permit the Council of Industrial Organizations to maintain subordinate councils, as now provided for departments of the American Federation of Labor. Existing state and local bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be merged as provided for in paragraph 6(g) of this Agreement.

#### 4. Finances

(a) The merged federation shall succeed to all the assets of the American Federation of Labor and shall assume all of its liabilities and contractual obligations. The merged federation shall succeed to that part of the net assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations which bears the same relationship to the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (as measured by per capita tax paid as of the date of the 1954 Congress of Industrial Organizations Convention) as the net assets of the American Federation of Labor as of the date of merger bear to the membership of the American Federation of Labor (similarly measured as of the date of the 1954 American Federation of Labor Convention). The Council of Industrial Organizations to be established within the merged federation shall succeed to the balance of the assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after all of its liabilities, both accrued and potential, have been provided for. The term assets shall include real estate held in trust for the respective federations.

(b) The per capita tax payable to the merged federation by national, international unions and organizing committees shall be 4 cents per member per month. The per capita tax of federal labor unions and local indus-

trial unions shall be not less than 80 cents per member per month. The Council of Industrial Organizations, acting as a department of the merged federation, shall establish its own per capita tax, as shall all other departments of the merged federation.

#### 5. Existing Agreements

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation.

The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of the merged federation.

#### 6. Methods of Merger

The merger shall be effected by the following procedure:

(a) This agreement shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(b) Upon approval by them, a proposed constitution for the merged federation, reflecting the provisions of the merger agreement and containing such other necessary and appropriate provisions as may be agreed to, shall be drafted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. The proposed constitution of the merged federation shall, consistent with the merger agreement, preserve the essential features of the present AFL and CIO constitutions and the basic rights and obligations of the affiliates of both federations.



## MERGER AGREEMENT

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(c) The proposed Constitution shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(d) Upon approval by them, this Agreement and the proposed Constitution, and such other agreements as are necessary to accomplish the merger shall be submitted to separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(e) Upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations of the Merger Agreement and the proposed Constitution of the merged federation, a joint convention shall be held. Such joint convention shall constitute the first regular biennial convention of the merged federation.

(f) Initially, the headquarters and field staff of the AFL and the CIO shall be retained as the staff of the

merged federation. A special committee shall be established of the present executive officers of the AFL and the CIO which shall, in conjunction with the executive officers of the merged federation, make just, fair and equitable provision for the integration of the staffs of the AFL and the CIO into a single staff for the merged federation.

(g) Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be accomplished within two years after the date of the merger of the two national federations by the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the officers of the merged federation. Pending the conclusion of such agreements state and local central bodies of both the AFL and CIO shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions now affiliated to such central bodies.

## IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT

Made this 30th day of November, 1955, by and between the American Federation of Labor, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the CIO.

WHEREAS, the AFL and the CIO, by their duly constituted executive bodies, have concluded an agreement entitled "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" to combine and continue both organizations into a single organization, the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" (sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL-CIO), and

WHEREAS, the executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have approved a proposed constitution for such combined organization, and

WHEREAS, the agreement to combine and the proposed constitution will be submitted for approval to the forthcoming constitutional conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO will become effective, in accordance with the agreement to combine and the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, on the effective date of the approval of such agreement and such constitution by the separate conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the duly constituted executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have authorized the undersigned Officers of the respective organizations to enter into this agreement to implement the combination of the AFL and the CIO,

NOW, THEREFORE, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations do hereby agree as follows:

1. The AFL-CIO shall be deemed, for all purposes, to be a combination and continuation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Neither of such organizations shall be deemed, for any purpose, to be dissolved, terminated or discontinued, but upon the

effective date of the combination they shall be combined and continued as a single organization, the AFL-CIO, to be governed by the constitution of the AFL-CIO, which shall be an amendment to and substitute for the present separate constitutions of the AFL and the CIO.

2. Immediately prior to the effective date of the combination of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO shall, in accordance with paragraph 4(a) of the "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" transfer to an appropriate account or other depository, for the benefit of, and to be the sole property of, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, a sum in cash or securities estimated to be equal to the difference between the value of the net assets of the CIO and \$1,238,536.00. Any errors in this estimate of the amounts due to the AFL-CIO and to the Industrial Union Department under the said Paragraph 4(a) shall be corrected subsequently by an appropriate adjustment between the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Department.

3. On the effective date of the combination, all the property, real and personal and mixed and all right, title and interest, either legal or equitable, in any monies, funds or property, tangible and intangible, of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and their respective separate names, trademarks, and emblems, and all debts due to each of them, and all the rights, privileges and powers and every other interest of each of them, of whatever nature, except for the sum transferred to the Industrial Union Department as provided in paragraph 2 of this Agreement, shall by virtue of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, be transferred to and vested in the AFL-CIO and all such rights and properties shall thereafter be as effectually the property of the AFL-CIO as they were of the AFL and the CIO. Title to any prop-

erty, real, personal or mixed, legally or beneficially vested by deed or otherwise in the AFL or the CIO, shall not be in any way impaired by reason of the combination but shall in all respects be vested in the combined organization by virtue of the combination. The AFL-CIO shall, on and after the effective date of the combination, be responsible, by virtue of the combination, for all the debts, liabilities and obligations of the AFL and the CIO, and all such debts, liabilities and obligations shall from that time forth attach to the combined organization and may be enforced against it to the same extent as if the said debts, liabilities, and obligations were incurred or otherwise contracted by it.

4. The present executive officers, the present members of the Executive Council of the AFL and any trustee holding property for the AFL, and the present executive officers, the present members of the Executive Board of the CIO and any trustee holding property for the CIO shall be empowered to and shall from time to time after the effective date of the combination, execute and deliver or cause to be executed and delivered, upon request of the combined organization, all such deeds, authorizations, or other instruments as the combined organization may deem necessary or desirable in order to confirm the right and title of the combined organization to the property, rights and privileges referred to in paragraph 3 above, and shall take such further and other action as may be requested by the combined organization for such purposes.

5. In accordance with the provisions of Article III of the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, each national and international union and each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union and each State and Territorial Federation of Labor and Local Central Body affiliated with the AFL, and each department of the AFL and each national and international union, organizing committee and Local Industrial Union, and each State and Local Industrial Union Council affiliated with the CIO, and the Industrial Union Department provided for in Article XII of the constitution of the

AFL-CIO, shall, on the effective date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, and by virtue of such combination, be an affiliate of the AFL-CIO unless, in the case of a national or international union, it expressly disaffiliates therefrom.

6. The combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO shall not affect, interrupt or change in any way the continuing status, or the rights or duties with respect to third persons, of any organization affiliated with the AFL or the CIO, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, whether such organization be a national or international union, organizing committee, national council, federal labor or local trade union, local industrial union, state or territorial federation, city central labor union, state or local industrial union council, or trade and industrial department, and, further, shall not impair the status of such organizations, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, in any pending action or proceedings, or any right, title or interest in any property or arising from any deeds, bonds, mortgages, leases or contracts of any kind, or the continuity thereof; and, further, shall not impair any federal, state or territorial certification or any rights or obligations of such organizations, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, under their existing collective bargaining agreements or checkoff authorizations.

7. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended to affect any presently existing collective bargaining agreement or any federal, state or territorial certification of the AFL or the CIO, but all rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities vested in either the AFL or the CIO pursuant to such contracts or certifications are intended to be vested in the AFL-CIO by virtue of the combination.

8. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended, nor shall it be deemed, in itself to terminate the employment of any employee of either the AFL or the CIO. All employees of the AFL and the CIO initially shall, upon the effective date of the combination, and by virtue thereof, be deemed to be employees of the

## IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT

AFL-CIO without interruption of their employment status.

9. The combination of the AFL and the CIO shall not terminate or affect in any way any existing pension or insurance plan which may be in effect with respect to the employees of the AFL or the CIO but such plans shall be maintained in force by the AFL-CIO with respect to the employees covered thereby on the effective date of the combination until such time as consolidated pension and insurance plans shall be substituted therefor.

10. This Agreement is subject to and shall not become effective unless the agreement to combine the AFL and the CIO and the proposed consti-

tution of the AFL-CIO are approved and made effective by the separate conventions of the AFL and the CIO.

GEORGE MEANY,  
President,  
American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
American Federation of Labor.

WALTER P. REUTHER,  
President,  
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

JAMES B. CAREY,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

# First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 5, 1955



## Report of

### FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York  
December 5, 1955

Pursuant to action taken by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations held in the City of New York on December 1 and 2, 1955, the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations Convened in the Seventy-First Regiment Armory in the City of New York, at 9:30 o'clock, A. M., December 5, 1955. Mr. George Meany and Mr. Walter Reuther jointly called the Convention to order, with Mr. Reuther thereupon presiding as Temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling they were entertained by Paul Laval's Cities Service Band of America.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** On behalf of the Joint Labor Unity Committee I now declare this founding Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in order for business.

I will ask the delegates and guests to stand for the National Anthems of the United States and Canada. I am privileged to present, for the National Anthem of the United States, Miss Lil-

lian Hayes, and for the Canadian National Anthem Mr. Joseph Bono.

The audience joined in the singing of the National Anthems.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** Will you please remain standing for the invocation. It is my privilege to present one of America's most outstanding spiritual leaders, His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York.

#### INVOCATION

**Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York**

Lord Jesus, Carpenter of Nazareth, Thou hast called us to play our part in a day of destiny and decision. Grave problems face us which we may not put aside. Them must we meet and solve with justice for all men. Grant that we may not be little men in a great day bequeathed by dedicated men who dared in darker hours to believe and hope; to sacrifice and starve.

We know that by ourselves we are insufficient for these tasks and for problems vaster than the measure of our best vision. Be Thou present, then, O Delegate Unseen, in our midst, with the marks of the nails in Thy hands calloused by honest toil—to lead us and to bless us. Move us that there may be

concession without coercion and conciliation without compromise. In Thy spirit may we be courageous enough to begin with confidence; fearless enough to admit mistakes; humble enough to forgive wrongs. Take away from our deliberations the temper of selfishness and shield us from the lust for power which forges chains on free men's arms and drenches the earth in blood and tears. Make unity of purpose in organization for the common good our plighted goal and dominant concern.

May the leaders of industry find in the new merged ranks of Free Labor not enemies, but friends; not competitors but collaborators; not menaces but a mighty safeguard of their own enterprise and freedoms. And may the foe of liberty and free labor who plots to pull down the sceptre of God and dominate our country, degrade the dignity of man and enslave and enslave the toilers of the world by luring, lying slogans, know that we pierce the veil of his hypocrisy and scorn his insidious, deceitful promises.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, this merger of our nations' two great labor bodies and grant peace and harmony in all their deliberations and actions. Let the spirit of cooperation and collaboration prevail in the difficult days ahead when so many complex problems challenge the wisdom and restraint of its leaders. We pray Thee, bless them with knowledge and understanding, wisdom and justice in their councils. Let this new unity which brings 15,000,000 laboring men together in common purpose be the means of renewing their remembrance of Thy provident care and of Thy bountiful provision for all their needs.

It has not been the tragic lot of the American working man to bend his neck beneath the dictator's yoke. He has not seen his property and the hard won gains of his daily work appropriated by a ruthless state. The goad of the Commission and the relentless pressure of the Five Year Plan he has not known. And so we give thanks to Thee, O merciful Father, for the favors of freedom and prosperity which Thou hast bestowed upon our workers and upon our country.

From strength to strength may organized labor go forward remaining conscious always of the stewardship it holds for so many millions of workers as it closes the ranks today in this historic merger and may the blessing of God the Father, of Christ the Worker and of the Holy Spirit be with it now and always.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** Thank you, Cardinal Spellman, for invoking God's guidance upon our deliberations and the work that lies ahead.

I am privileged at this time to present a veteran of almost half a century in the service of the American labor movement. About 45 years ago this brother became active in the Teamsters Union in New York City. As a matter of fact, I am told that he and his colleagues 45 years ago began to work on the present traffic jam that we all had to buck into this convention hall. He has been the President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York since 1942. He has served as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Labor's League

for Political Education in the New York area, and I am very pleased and proud to present our good friend, Brother Martin T. Lacey.

### **MR. MARTIN T. LACEY**

**President, Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City**

As President of the Central Trades & Labor Council of New York City it is a privilege to extend a heartfelt welcome to the officials and delegates gathered together in this great merger convention. We here today are embarking on an historic task. This is an outstanding moment in the history of organized labor. It holds tremendous promise for the future of the Labor Movement, and for the welfare of every working man and working woman in our country.

The job ahead of us is a momentous one. It calls for the best that each and every one of us has to give. The work that we do now and the measure of our individual devotion to our common cause will decide whether we make the most of the tremendous opportunity at hand.

There is much work to be done, many problems to be met and mastered. It is well that we have a full appreciation of this fact. We will have need for tact, for mutual understanding, cooperation, forbearance and, perhaps most of all, for patience.

It may be trite to say that Rome wasn't built in a day, but it is a truth we need to be reminded of at this time. Great movements are the result of great forces that gather momentum slowly, but are irresistible. In a movement as mighty as ours we can afford to be patient.

My call for patience and understanding I know will not be used as an excuse for apathy, or laziness, or indifference. Our patience must be active, not passive. Only by the utmost diligence and energy of which we are capable can we make this great unification of organized labor the force for good it should be, both in the development of our country and in the individual lives of all workers.

Let us give generously in this good work—give of ourselves, our capacities, our energies, our willingness, our good will and our devotion to the general welfare. The great opportunity is at hand. Let us make the most of it. May our efforts bear rich fruit and may God speed our success.

And now it becomes my great pleasure to introduce to you the Secretary-Treasurer of the New York City Industrial Union Council, Morris Iushevitz.

### **MR. MORRIS IUSHEVITZ**

**Secretary-Treasurer; New York City Industrial Union Council**

Chairman Reuther, officers, Cardinal Spellman, distinguished guests and fellow delegates: It is a great privilege and a high honor to welcome you today on behalf of the half million members of the CIO in this area. We welcome you to our town, a great union town, and we are proud and happy

that you have chosen New York as the setting for this historic and momentous occasion.

It is sometimes difficult to speak for other people, but I have no hesitation in saying to you today that I know I speak for all the CIO people in New York when I say we have waited a long time for unity. We are grateful that it has been achieved, and we expect great things from the great, new union, the AFL-CIO.

We are confident that under that banner we will go forward to greater glory and good for all America.

We wish you well in your deliberations.

And now I have the honor to present to you Brother Thomas Murray, President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

**MR. THOMAS MURRAY**  
President, New York State Federation  
of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Your Eminence Cardinal Spellman, distinguished guests, delegates and friends:

In my more than 50 years as a trade unionist, this is the proudest and most privileged moment of my life, to address this unified labor gathering brought about by the intelligent thinking of both the CIO and AFL.

The solidification of the labor movement will be a forward step toward a firmer foundation for a greater prosperity and a higher standard of living and the safeguard of purchasing power that is essential for the progress of our great nation. With the merger will come a greater responsibility, a greater opportunity to serve the public welfare.

There can be no higher form of patriotism.

I have known the next speaker for a great many years and have always found him ready and willing to co-operate for the progress of the working people of this State and Nation. It is a privilege to present to you Louis Hollander, President, New York State Congress of Industrial Organizations.

**MR. LOUIS HOLLANDER**  
President, New York State Congress of  
Industrial Organizations

President Reuther, President Meany, distinguished leaders of our unified labor movement, delegates and friends:

I deem it a great privilege to join Tom Murray, the President of the State Federation of Labor, in welcoming you and greeting you at this historic convention. Actually what we are doing this morning is making history in building a united and unified labor movement for the good of all the people and not only for the good of our members.

I think at this time, in these brief seconds, it would perhaps be fitting for me, President Reuther and President Meany, to recite to you some of the things that the CIO and the AFL have done in New York. We are proud of our record. We are proud of the work

we have done because the State CIO has been active in the community partnership with our neighbors, not only for the achievement of a dollar more for the worker but for the achievement of a better community for all people. We have participated in every activity in the community. We have fought for better housing, better schools, and better hospitals and health facilities.

Yes, Mr. President, we have in the last week helped to perform a great act that would bring benefits and blessings to our children of these United States. Our affiliates participated in bringing into one house a conference for education. In the tradition of labor we have fought for education just as we have fought against sweat shops in industry, and we have fought against overcrowded classrooms, unpaid teachers, overworked teachers, which constitute sweat shop conditions in education. We refuse to have our children educated under sweatshop conditions, and we are happy that we had a great deal to do in bringing that great movement to eliminate sweatshop conditions in education as we have eliminated sweatshop conditions in industry.

We have been active in the legislative halls, in political activities, and when the history will be written of the CIO a page will be given to the New York State Organization that many of the good laws on the legislative books today were initiated by the State CIO and its affiliates in the State.

I am looking forward to the State CIO joining hands with the leadership and membership of the State AFL. I know in uniting we can be a force for good. I know in united action we can do the things not only for our own members but good things for all the people in our communities. And may the time come when we will work together in the State as well as here in the cities and all over to eradicate the evils that are still here and place them with the good things of life for everyone.

In this spirit I greet you and I welcome you, and may God give you all these blessings. Thank you very much.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** I thank the four good brothers from the State of New York for their greetings of friendship and hospitality. It is now my privilege to present our special guest this morning who is a distinguished son of a very distinguished father. His late and beloved father, that great Senator, Robert F. Wagner, was a great champion of labor's rights in America. He was the author of the great "Magna Charta" of American labor—the Wagner Act. He put more positive, constructive social legislation into the laws of our great land than anyone else in the history of our great country.

But our friend this morning is not content to rest on the laurels of his distinguished father. He, too, is dedicating his life in the public interest in serving all his fellow men. As a New York Assemblyman he won distinction and respect for his positive and constructive contribution in advancing legislation to deal with the basic problems of the people in this great State.



He served with distinction as Commissioner of Housing and Building in New York City, as Chairman of the Safety Planning Commission, President of the Borough of Manhattan, motivated always by great energy and great idealism. The people of the City of New York, recognizing that here was a dedicated public servant, decided that he was the proper man for the highest executive office in this great city, and two years ago he was elected Mayor of the City of New York. He was the first mayor of any city in the United States to establish a City Department of Labor because he recognized that labor does have problems that need specialized attention of people familiar with these problems.

Last week he was elected the head of the Municipal Association.

It is a distinct honor and a great privilege at this time to present the Mayor of the City of New York, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner.

#### **HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER Mayor, New York City**

Walter Reuther, my good friend George Meany, Your Eminence, Distinguished Officers and Delegates to the Convention:

This is a memorable day for Labor, industry, and our country. It is an honor to all of us of New York that you have selected it as the place to carry out your dedicated task, to build one house of labor. It is a pleasure, too, to welcome to New York and to this convention, the great representatives of free labor in other lands. We hope they will get to know us well.

New York takes pride that it was the birthplace of many of the unions that created the two wings, now being put under one roof. It takes pride, too, that many of the most eminent of labor statesmen had their origins and first fought the good fight here, in the homes and factories of our town. Without the inspiration, the dedication of these men and without the hard work of their supporters—not only would this day not have dawned for labor, but this city and this country would not be what they are. America is a land where we have knit together men and women of many different economic and national backgrounds so that they here live and work in harmony and friendship. New York has led the way in that respect. New York, the great port of entry to our country will give good proof of that again, when, with your help, our nation opens the gates again to all who will make good citizens, regardless of their color or land of birth. With that background in its history, New York is a happy choice for the site, where, for the first time in twenty years, you meet together, to work and live in harmony and friendship. There is another, a symbolic reason why New York is a happy choice for this convention. Here we proudly boast that we are always rebuilding the town. When the framework of a building is completed, those in the trade say the building is "topped-out". In joining in this convention you are to adopt a new constitution. With that task completed, you will "top-off" the framework for the new, united house of labor.

I have always believed and fought for the idea that the interest of our country and the interest of the working man and woman are the same. In fact, what is good for the country is good for labor. It is indeed this ideal that has made New York the leader in our nation, in the never-ending task of devising better ways to improve the lot of all who work for a living in our democratic society. As mayor I am in a sense, an employer of nearly 200,000 people. It has been my aim, as the head of city government, to carry the philosophy I just expressed, into the too-long neglected sphere of government. To that end I have taken steps to recognize and accord to each in city employment, the right to be heard without fear if there be a grievance, and to recognize for all the right, in strength and unity of organization, to have a voice in the pay, and conditions under which they work to carry on the city's affairs.

You who have assembled in this convention have had many knotty problems to solve, to bring you to this point. That you have worked out so many, is a tribute to your will, and to your purpose. It is encouraging, and a further tribute that you know that your work is not ended. From the statements you have issued, it is clear that you do not rest in the assumption that adoption of the wonderful preamble, and the new constitution itself ends the job. You know that this great charter does not itself breathe life into the organization, or that it has solved all problems. Just as for our country, it took years of building before our constitution could be written, and just as even today, we in this nation have old problems still to solve and new ones coming up day to day, so it must be with you. A document, a set of rules and principles, welding men with common needs to a common cause, can live and breathe only in the light of the facts and problems of each new day. This is the philosophy you have wisely adopted. For the success of your purpose there could be no other.

It is encouraging too, to see how few are the prophets of doom on this occasion among those who usually see goblins in anything that you may do. That there are but few such critics is testimony to the rightness of your cause. We should rejoice that most leaders in the industrial life of our country view with great hope what you do here today. To the few disparagers the "nervous nellies", I say, read the preamble to the new constitution of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and tremble no more, for you need not fear the men of labor who make a pledge to work in unity and say "The achievement of ever higher living and working conditions."

Those who fear and doubt should have naught but hope for our beloved country from such as you who pledge to "Combat resolutely the forces, which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul."

These noble words and aims are expressed in your new constitution, and in the indomitable will and leadership of George Meany, Walter Reuther, and all who work with them. These words you will surely carry into deeds.

They must be made to mean for each



among our fellow-citizens a free right to join a union, to work wherever his talents direct him, a right to better homes, better schools, and a fuller life. It is a fight not yet won. You must continue to educate your members, you must continue to lead the country along these paths. It is a cause in which I have enlisted for the duration, so that we can bring these aims to pass on a local and a national scale. Enlisting under such a banner, you and I cannot fail.

Let me close with expressing my own heartfelt wish for your success; and let me invite you to the hospitality of New York, when next you meet in convention.

May God bless you in your noble work for the betterment of America and the world.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** On behalf of the delegates to the Convention I should like to express our sincere appreciation for the words of inspiration from Mayor Wagner and for the words of welcome and hospitality.

Thank you Bob, and good luck in the period ahead.

### CONVENTION PHOTOGRAPH

... At this time the Convention photograph was taken.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** At this time I should like to introduce the people who have worked hard in bringing us where we are today, who really have been the architects of this beginning of a united labor movement. I would like to ask all the members of the Joint Unity Committee to stand so that you can give them a big hand at this time.

... The Joint Unity Committee rose and acknowledged the introduction...

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** At this time I am privileged to yield the gravel to the oldest member of the subcommittee of the Unity Committee, a brother who has given years of service to the American labor movement. He is old in years, in faith and service, but young in spirits. I have learned to know him and to respect him as we worked together on the task of fashioning a united labor movement. No one during these many, many meetings has shown greater understanding, greater patience, or more good sense or more good will than the bricklayer whom I am going to present. I am told that he is the No. 1 bricklayer of America.

I was told that there was an argument one day in the headquarters of the Bricklayer's Union in Washington as to who was the oldest union man in the Bricklayer's Union. One fellow contended that the fellow whose name he advanced was the oldest bricklayer. In order to support the convention he said, "Why, this fellow served his apprenticeship when they were building the great Pyramids in Egypt." The fellow who was arguing the point that the person whom I want to present was the oldest bricklayer said, "Well, this guy was the business agent on that job."

It is a great privilege to be able to work with men like this fellow, because he is a great source of information to the younger people coming up in the labor

movement. I am proud to present my good friend, the President of the Bricklayers Union, Brother Harry Bates.

### MR. HARRY BATES

I want to thank President Reuther for his kind remarks. Up until he made this speech here this morning I didn't know that I was such a good man.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you at this time one of America's most able and distinguished labor statesman. It is unnecessary for me to elaborate on the wonderful contributions made to labor by this man. His record speaks for itself. I present for an address to this convention Brother Walter Reuther, President of the CIO and President of the United Automobile Workers-CIO of America.

### MR. WALTER REUTHER

My good friend Harry Bates, Brother George Meany, distinguished guests, fellow workers and friends: All of us are truly blessed in having the great human experience of sharing in the shaping of the decisions of this historic Convention. In truth we stand on the threshold of the beginning of what I know will be the most glorious chapter in the history of the American labor movement. Millions of workers throughout the world are watching us with high hope and rejoicing as they see the forces of free labor joining together in this Convention, and behind the Iron Curtain, where men slave in the darkness of the Communist tyranny, our actions here this week will give men renewed hope in their struggle to be free.

We are building a new and united labor movement, and we are building it well, because the policies that we have established are morally right and they are socially responsible. We are building on a foundation of principles that are both sound and honorable.

We say frankly we have not achieved perfection, because no work of man is perfect. There will be problems, but I believe with all of my heart that the same good will, the same common sense and the same good faith that brought us from where we were to where we are today, that same good sense and good faith will solve the new problems that may lie ahead in working out the final mechanics of labor unity.

I say to George Meany and our many friends who make up the leadership of the former American Federation of Labor unions, and I say this in behalf of myself and my colleagues and for the millions of workers back home whom we have the privilege of representing—I say, George, to you and your colleagues we extend the hand of friendship and the hand of fellowship, and I say, together united in the solidarity of human brotherhood we shall go forward to build a labor movement and a better America for all people in this great and wonderful country of ours.

This is an unparalleled opportunity to begin to lay the basis for moving forward, for organizing the millions of unorganized workers who are still denied the protection and the benefits that only trade union membership can give them.

I am confident that we will find the means of rising above the conflicts of the past and we will find a way in America

to organize the unorganized into craft unions where that is proper and into industrial unions. There are enough unorganized workers in America to keep every craft union and industrial union working side by side for many years to come if we do the job together.

Every union can grow. Every union can bring to the membership that they bring into their ranks these great blessings of organized labor.

Now as we meet today our enemies have plans under way to mobilize their forces. These are the forces of selfishness and greed and reaction. They are the same forces who fought against the 8-hour day, against the Child Labor Law, against social security, against free public education. They shall again be rising up and challenging the rights of organized labor to come together. Watch the editorial columns, and many of the same papers who yesterday criticized labor because its house was divided—they are now going to criticize us because we are united, because they say this is the beginning of a monopoly.

We say you are wrong. We agree with Mayor Wagner. We reject the slogan of General Motors that what is good for GM is good for America. We will buy Mayor Wagner's slogan that what is good for America is good for American labor. That shall be our slogan.

We want to make progress, not at the expense of our neighbors; we want to make progress with our neighbors, and with the American people because we share the same hopes, the same aspirations, and we dream the same dreams of a better tomorrow.

We offer our hand to men and women of good will all over America, and we say, let us work together in the vineyards of American democracy in building a better tomorrow in which people everywhere can share more fully in the blessings of economic and social justice, in which people can live at peace and freedom together.

We would like nothing better than to be able to work constructively with all groups in America in building that better world in which peace and human freedom could be made secure, a world in which we could banish war and man's inhumanity to man forever.

These are the things that we strive for, and we are joining together, not to create a powerful economic pressure group or a political pressure bloc; we are joining together so that together we may make a greater contribution in the building of a finer America for all people.

What kind of things are we going to fight for? We want a decent educational system so that every child in America, conceived in the image of God, will have the kind of educational opportunities so that every child could grow intellectually and spiritually and culturally into a finer human being.

We want to wipe out the slums so that every family can live in a decent house, in a wholesome neighborhood. We want social security so that our old people can share economic security and human dignity in the last years of their lives.

We want adequate medical care; we want the things that the American people want. These are the things to which we shall dedicate our efforts in the years ahead.

We also want to join with Americans in all walks of life in proving that America, the last best hope of free men everywhere, is worthy of the leadership of the free world. And I believe that this labor movement of ours will make a great contribution in the field of civil liberties and civil rights. We need to understand that we cannot accept the attitude of the Governor of Georgia and hope to lead the free world. American democracy must square its noble promises with practical performance. We need to work hard to overcome the ugly form of racial discrimination and intolerance both within the labor movement and all over America in the years ahead.

We are blessed like no other people in the world. We have the greatest economic resources; we have the most productive economy. What we need to do is to find a way to gear this developing technology and this growing abundance to the needs and the hopes and the aspirations of all the people of our great country.

The same science and technology that give us the know-how to produce the H-bomb with which we can destroy human life also provide us with the tools of undreamed-of economic abundance if we have but the good sense to use these tools constructively in uplifting mankind to higher living standards and a fuller measure of justice and human dignity.

This is the first time in the history of human civilization where we have the tools of abundance with which to conquer poverty and hunger, disease and ignorance, and man's old-time enemies. It is the task of the American labor movement to provide positive leadership in finding a way so that free men, instead of struggling together in an effort to divide up economic scarcity, can find new forms of cooperation in the glorious opportunity of creating and sharing economic abundance. This is the great challenge that we have before us in America.

We believe that the possibilities of human progress and human betterment are as unlimited as the creative genius of the free human spirit. Our basic problem in America, unlike the problem of any other people in the world, is to work at the practical problem of maintaining a dynamic, expanding balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power. Every time we get more productive power we have got to increase wages and purchasing power so that we can maintain this dynamic balance on a higher and higher economic plateau.

If you will look at the possibilities you will find that within the next ten or twelve years the American people can double their living standards. We can have higher wages, more of the good things of life, and we can have a shorter work week. But when we say these things, the men of little faith always say it can't be done. They say we couldn't have a 10-hour day. They said we couldn't have an 8-hour day. We said we could, and America has proven it; we have fashioned our greatness as a nation by doing what the men of little faith said was impossible.

When we go to the bargaining table fighting for higher wages, we are not

only fighting for economic justice for the workers we represent; we are fighting to achieve the expansion of purchasing power so that our economy can go on expanding with full production and full employment.

We ask a simple question: If America can achieve full employment and full production making the weapons of war and destruction, then pray tell us, we ask, why can't we achieve and maintain full employment and full production making the good things of life for people in peace time? These are the things we are going after.

It is a funny thing in America: when a corporation executive gets \$500,000 a year take-home-pay and he is in there striving and working to get \$600,000, that is fine. That is how we make progress, by individual drive, initiative and incentive. I ask these spokesmen for big business in America, what process of mental and moral gymnastics does one need to go through to say that it is morally right and economically sound for a \$500,000 executive to try to get \$600,000 but it is economically unsound and morally wrong for a \$5,000 worker to fight through his union to get \$6,000. I say if it is right for the executive it is a thousand times more right for the worker at his income level.

We say to the American farmers, we recognize your problem. We know that you are being denied your fair equity within the framework of the American economy. We know that the future well-being of American farmers and American working people is inseparably tied together. But there are people in Washington who would like the American workers and the American farmers to fight each other. It is the old technique of divide and rule. They are trying to make the farmers believe that their economic situation is deteriorating and that prices are going up on industrial commodities because American labor has won higher wages, when everyone who knows the facts knows that it is greedy corporations in their lust for greater profits who are responsible for higher prices.

I would like to say to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, why doesn't he join the American labor movement in getting a Congressional investigation on who exactly is responsible for higher prices of industrial commodities. Corporation profits have gone up 30 per cent. Let me just give you a couple of specific figures. The General Motors Corporation raised the price of all of its automobiles, and yet in the first nine months of 1955 the General Motors Corporation made such fantastic profits that you need to take a course in higher mathematics to understand them. They made, based upon their nine months' figures if extended for the year, a profit of \$2,635,000,000.00, or '3 per cent return on their capitalization. For every minute, including Saturdays, Sundays and holidays in the first nine months of 1955 General Motors made \$5,000.00 profit per second. They made \$300,000.00 profit per hour, and they made \$7,200,000.00 profit per day, and they made \$220,000,000.00 profit per month for every one of those nine months. And yet American labor is being blamed for higher prices.

We need to tear down this propaganda campaign and let the American farmers know that their best friends in America are the working people who buy their goods and who provide the things they use.

Senator Goldwater proposed yesterday that the American labor movement be politically disfranchised. He says we have no rights with respect to endorsing candidates for public office. I say what we need to say to Mr. Goldwater is, "Our answer to you, Senator, is not less political action but more political action on the part of the American labor movement."

This is our country. We are workers and we are citizens, and politics is the practical housekeeping job of democracy, and the American labor movement intends to help keep that democracy in this country of ours.

We have said very clearly that we are going to work within the two-party system, endorsing candidates, not based upon their party label, but based upon the competence and the integrity of the individual, and where his party stands on the basic issues as they affect the American people. To do this we need to work hard to raise the level of political understanding in America on the part of the great mass of people.

Finally in this Convention we extend our hand to the delegates from the ICFTU who are in attendance, and we say through them to the millions of workers that they represent throughout the free world, "We will work with you. We will work together with free labor in the world in building the free labor movement in every country in the world, because the free labor movement of the world is the strongest anti-Communist force in the world."

You look where labor is free and strong and you will find that there the communists are weak. But where labor is weak, where there is injustice and graft and poverty the communists are able to form that poverty into power, and therefore we say, free labor is effective in the struggle for peace and freedom, because free labor understands that that struggle is tied together with the struggle for social justice.

As we meet here today we need to draw inspiration and a sense of rededication from the struggles of those who went before us. And I believe that men like Philip Murray, men like William Green who gave their lives in the service of the American labor movement, in the struggle for social justice and human betterment, I say that men like Phil Murray and Bill Green did more in one week to fight communism than all the Goldwaters will do in the rest of their lives, in a practical sense.

I say to George Meany, George, this is a great, new beginning. You will lead the American labor movement to higher and higher and higher levels of achievement. You will enable the labor movement to make a greater and greater contribution to the whole of America and the free world. And I pledge to you, George, with all of my heart, that those of us who share in the leadership of the CIO, that we shall stand with you, and together with your colleagues from the AFL, we shall fight together; we shall march together; we shall build

together, and we shall win together that better tomorrow for American people.

Thank you and May God bless all of you.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** I am privileged now to call upon another member of the Unity Subcommittee, the brother who made a great contribution in working out the many difficult problems related to labor unity. I might say that he had the reputation on our Committee of being the packhorse. He is the only executive in Washington, D. C. who knows how to carry a brief case in each hand. In order to get all the records that we needed that was an essential part of his equipment.

He is a baker, and last night George Meany and I were cutting a big, fancy, eight-layer cake that the I.B.E.W. had at their party, and we asked this brother where he baked those kind of cakes when he was working in a bake shop. And we were told that no, he was not a cake baker, he was a bagel baker.

Now I am very privileged at this time to present to the convention a member of the Unity Subcommittee, a man who has made a great contribution to bring us to where we are, my good friend Bill Schnitzler.

### REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

**DELEGATE SCHNITZLER:** The AFL-CIO Unity Committee wishes to report that we have received the names of 1,487 certified delegates eligible to be seated in the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, representing 135 National and International Unions, 5 Departments, 93 State Branches, 490 Central Bodies and Industrial Union Councils, 148 Local Unions and Local Industrial Unions, and recommend that they be seated forthwith.

Brother Schnitzler submitted the following list of delegates:

### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artists, 33,993—Dullzell, Paul, 6,799, Shanks, H. O'Neill, 6,799, Somerset, Pat, 6,799, Bright, Jackie, 6,798, McKee, Alex, 6,798.

Agricultural Workers, 3,713—Mitchell, H. L., 3,713.

Air Line Dispatchers, 609—Dunne, William B., 609.

Air Lines Pilots, 8,760—Saven, Clarence N., 2,920, Beatley, C. E., 2,920, Masland, W. M., 2,920.

Aluminum Workers, 19,944—Stahl, Eddie R., 4,986, Cowley, William L., 4,986, Kelley, D. R., 4,986, Mitchell, Claude R., 4,986.

Asbestos Workers, 9,250—Sickles, C. W., 4,625, Mulligan, Hugh E., 4,625.

Automobile Workers, 73,329—Heaton, Earl, 24,443, Doria, Anthony, 24,443, Evans, Frank, 24,443.

Automobile, 1,259,741—Walter P. Reuther, 50,390, Emil Mazey, 50,390, John W. Livingston, 50,390, Richard Gosser, 50,390, Norman Matthews, 50,390, Edward Cote, 50,390, Joseph McCusker, 50,390, William McAulay, 50,390, Robert

Carter, 50,390, Leonard Woodcock, 50,390, Patrick J. O'Malley, 50,390, Raymond Ross, 50,390, Charles Ballard, 50,390, Raymond H. Berndt, 50,390, Pat Great-house, 50,390, Russell Letner, 50,390, George Burt, 50,389, Martin Gerber, 50,389, Charles H. Kerrigan, 50,389, Harvey Kitzman, 50,389, George Merrell, 50,389, Ken Morris, 50,389, Kenneth Robinson, 50,389, Charles Bioletti, 50,389, Norman B. Seaton, 50,389.

Bakery Workers, 136,352—Winter, Herman E., 19,479, Schnitzler, William F., 19,479, Cross, James G., 19,479, Sims, Curtis R., 19,479, Landriscina, James, 19,479, Stuart, George, 19,479, Kralstein, Max, 19,478.

Barbers, 65,000—Birthright, William C., 10,834, Robinson, John B., 10,834, Scafi, Fred, 10,833, Crane, Charles T., 10,833, Husk, George, 10,833, Sanders, E. M., 10,833.

Barbers & Beauty Culturists, 3,003—Ernest, Herbert, 1,001, Moscovitz, Lil-yan, 1,001, Freedman, Malvina, 1,001.

Bill Posters and Billers, 1,605—Noch, Michael, 1,605.

Boiler Makers, 150,750—Calvin, William A., 18,844, MacGowan, Charles J., 18,844, Buckley, William J., 18,844, Eberhardy, A. J., 18,844, Nacey, Harry, 18,844, Nolan, George, 18,844, Fendergast, William G., 18,843, Boggs, Maywood, 18,843.

Bookbinders, 51,335—Haskin, Robert E., 17,112, Denny, Joseph, 17,112, Moran, Marion, 17,111.

Boot and Shoe Workers, 40,000—Mara, John J., 8,000, Anderson, Frank W., 8,000, Lawson, George W., 8,000, Cory, Tom, 8,000, Goggin, Daniel J., 8,000.

Brewery, 45,000—Feller, Karl F., 7,500, Rusch, Thomas, 7,500, Gildea, Arthur P., 7,500, Watts, B. M., 7,500, Dehner, John F., 7,500, Person, Robert R., 7,500, Bates, Harry C., 24,090.

Bricklayers, 120,448—Murphy, John J., 24,090, Conners, William R., 24,090, Murphy, Thomas F., 24,089, O'Donnell, Thomas H., 24,089.

Brick and Clay Workers, 23,423—Flegal, H. R., 5,856, Tracy, Wm., 5,856, Duff, Nathan, 5,856, Santo, Carmine, 5,855.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, 133,125—Lyons, J. H., 16,641, Downes, J. R., 16,641, Bauers, William F., 16,641, Boyen, Joseph F., 16,641, McCarthy, John L., 16,641, Lyons, John H., Jr., 16,640, McDonald, Thomas E., 16,640, Rounds, Stanley, 16,640.

Broadcast Employees and Technicians, 3,698—Clifford F. Rothery, 1,233, Eugene Klumpp, 1,233, Harold L. Byers, 1,232.

Building Service Employees, 205,269—McPetridge, William L., 25,659, Fairchild, George E., 25,659, Sullivan, David, 25,659, Collins, Walter D., 25,659, Hardy, George, 25,659, Burke, Thomas, 25,658, Shortman, Thomas, 25,658, Hackman, Arthur, 25,658.

Carmen, Railway, 116,002—Bernhardt, A. J., 19,334, Burchfield, C. W., 19,334, Duffin, Joseph L., 19,334, Doll, E. C., 19,334, Winters, J. F., 19,333, Zloty, Steve, 19,333.

Carpenters, 750,000—Hutcheson, M. A., 46,875, Stevenson, John R., 46,875, Blaier, O. Wm., 46,875, Fischer, Albert E., 46,875, Chapman, Frank, 46,875, Hanson, Charles W., 46,875, Kenney, Ted, 46,875, Davis, Kenneth, 46,875, Johnson,

Charles, Jr., 46,875, Rajoppi, Raleigh, 46,875, Schwarzer, Harry, 46,875, Chandler, Henry W., 46,875, Roberts, R. E., 46,875, Cambiano, J. F., 46,875, Cooper, Andrew V., 46,875, Reiter, Carl, 46,875. Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, 35,181—Jones, Felix C., 7,037, Gallo, Toney, 7,036, Schoenberg, William, 7,036, Roe, Reuben, 7,036, Taub, Lawrence, 7,036. Chemical Workers, 79,447—Moffett, Edw. R., 11,350, Shafer, Marshall, 11,350, Busby, A. Vincent, 11,350, Lewis, John E., 11,350, McIlwain, Gordon, 11,349, Mitchell, Walter L., 11,349, Donovan, Joseph J., 11,349. Cigarmakers, 9,192—Aspetia, Mario, 3,064, Campo, Ernest, 3,064, Haines, Sarah M., 3,064. Cleaning and Dye House Workers, 16,525—Gross, W. S., 4,132, Zitello, John, 4,131, Minaden, M. J., 4,131, Tusher, Morris, 4,131. Clerks, Post Office, 97,452—George, Leo E., 16,242, Hallbeck, E. C., 16,242, Anderson, Rudolph D., 16,242, Birchard, Percy W., 16,242, Durand, Robert C., 16,242, Oglesby, Clifford A., 16,242. Clerks, Railway, 264,225—Harrison, George M., 26,423, Ziegler, Phil E., 26,423, Sylvester, J. H., 26,423, Goble, G. B., 26,423, Morgan, Robert, 26,423, Snedden, L. B., 26,422, Price, George O., 26,422, Sullivan, Daniel J., 26,422, Coleman, Walter T., 26,422, Wyson, Charles W., 26,422. Clerks, Retail, 259,098—Suffridge, James A., 28,789, Housewright, Vernon A., 28,789, Sackett, Guy A., 28,789, Shea, Frank C., 28,789, Meyers, Samuel J., 28,789, Crossler, Anthony B., 28,789, Lafayette, Paul, 28,788, Hanson, Paul W., 28,788, Ammond, Fred A., 28,788. Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 210,000—Jacob Potofsky, 17,500, Frank Rosenblum, 17,500, Hyman Blumberg, 17,500, Abraham Chatman, 17,500, Gladys Dickason, 17,500, Sander Genis, 17,500, Vincent La Capria, 17,500, Reuben Block, 17,500, Murray Weinstein, 17,500, Joseph Salerno, 17,500, Charles Weinstein, 17,500, Richard Brazier, 17,500. Communications Workers, 249,043—J. A. Beirne, 19,157, John L. Crull, 19,157, Mary Hanscom, 19,157, J. J. Moran, 19,157, A. T. Jones, 19,157, Glenn Watts, 19,157, W. A. Smallwood, 19,157, W. G. Smith, 19,157, George E. Gill, 19,157, James Smith, 19,157, Ray Dreyer, 19,157, Louis Knecht, 19,156, D. L. McCowen, 19,156. Coopers, 3,267—Doyle, James J., 3,267. Distillery Workers, 25,528—Oneto, George J., 8,510, Autterson, Hobert, 8,509, Fontana, Alfred A., 8,509. Doll and Toy Workers, 14,176—Damino, Harry O., 4,726, Gordon, Milton, 4,725, Diana, Emanuel, 4,725. Electrical Workers, 460,237—Freeman, Gordon M., 76,707, Keenan, Joseph D., 76,706, Riley, Frank, 76,706, Dove, Horace, 76,706, Liggett, Joseph W., 76,706, Paulsen, Charles M., 76,706. Electrical, Radio and Machine, 271,175—James B. Carey, 20,860, Al Hartnett, 20,860, Harry Block, 20,860, Frederick Kelley, 20,860, Jack Suarez, 20,860, William Snoots, 20,860, James Click, 20,860, Milton Weltrauch, 20,860, Ellis Hockenberry, 20,859, Leonard Hutson, 20,859, George Hutchens, 20,859, E. J. Kraft, 20,859, Alan Palmer, 20,859. Elevator Constructors, 10,164, Smith, Edward A., 3,388, Magee, Edwin C., 3,388, Feeney, Jr., Frank, 3,388. Engineers, Operating, 200,000, Maloney, Wm. E., 22,223, Gramling, Chas. B.,

22,223, Delaney, Joseph J., 22,222, Converse, Frank P., 22,222, Swanson, Victor S., 22,222, Stuhr, Wm. J., 22,222, Wharton, Hunter P., 22,222, Bronson, Ralph B., 22,222, Weber, Peter, 22,222, Engineers, Technical, 10,159, Stephens Russell M., 3,387, Raimist, J. Lawrence, 3,386, Pratt, Foster J., 3,386. Engravers Union, Metal, 400—Woelfel, Conrad, 400. Engravers Union, Photo, 15,600, Connell, Wilfrid T., 3,900, Woll, Matthew, 3,900, Schmal, Henry F., 3,900, Rehage, J. Arthur, 3,900. Fire Fighters, 71,696—Redmond, John P., 11,950, Richardson, George J., 11,950, Barry, Howard P., 11,949, Smith, Michael F., 11,949, Beale, Robert, 11,949, McGuire, James, 11,949. Fireman and Oilers, 56,690—Matz, Anthony E., 9,449, Wright, George, 9,449, Tormey, Robert J., 9,448, Kennedy, James, 9,448, Fredenberger, William E., 9,448, Casselman, John, 9,448, Flight Engineers, 1,385—Kent, William D., 1,385. Furniture Workers, 34,490—Morris Pizer, 5,749, Fred Fulford, 5,749, Michael De Cicco, 5,748, Fred Stefan, 5,748, Neil J. McCormick, 5,748, Floyd Buckner, 5,748. Garment Workers, United, 40,000—McCurdy, Joseph P., 8,000, Hogan, E. M., 8,000, King, Madge, 8,000, Jordan, Emily, 8,000, Berkson, A., 8,000. Garment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigi, 34,794, Nagler, Isidore, 34,794, Zimmerman, Charles S., 34,794, Breslaw, Joseph, 34,794, Bialla, Morris, 34,794, Otto, Samuel, 34,794, Stulberg, Louis, 34,794, Hochmann, Julius, 34,794, Siems, Fred, 34,794, Bambace, Angela, 34,794. Glass Bottle Blowers, 46,979—Minton, Lee W., 9,396, Dalton, Raymond H., 9,396, Warren, J. Belton, 9,396, Ray, Wynema, 9,396, Giacobelli, James J., 9,395. Glass and Ceramic Workers, 40,937—Burl, Phares, 6,823, Leland, Beard, 6,823, Ralph, Reiser, 6,823, Lewis, McCracken, 6,823, Willard, Pellican, 6,823, Don, Berger, 6,822. Glass Cutters, Window, 1,600—Boucher, Marcel R., 1,600. Glass Workers, Flint, 28,095—Cook, Harry H., 7,024, Mangiopane, Bennie, 7,024, McMullen, William, 7,024, Scheff, Charles M., 7,023. Glove Workers, 2,883—Durian, Thomas, 2,883. Government Employees, 47,089—Campbell, James A., 15,697, Kelly, Timothy J., 15,696, Olding, Henrietta E., 15,696. Government and Civic, 27,316—Anthony J. Federoff, 5,464, Milton Murray, 5,463, John L. Yancey, 5,463, Martin Wagner, 5,463, R. J. Thomas, 5,463. Granite Cutters, 4,000—Pagnano, Costanzo, 4,000. Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers, 29,784—Walinsky, Ossip, 5,957, Zukowsky, Norman, 5,957, Lubliner, Philip, 5,957, Friss, Edward, 5,957, Wieselberg, Jack, 5,956. Hatters, 32,000—Rose, Alex, 6,400, Lewis, Marx, 6,400, Hershkowitz, Samuel, 6,400, Zatrisky, Max, 6,400, Spector, Nathaniel, 6,400. Hod Carriers, 372,450—Morechi, Jos. V., 33,860, Morreale, Vincent P., 33,859, Sullivan, Charles J., 33,859, Sheets, Robert B., 33,859, Lalor, Lee, 33,859, Fosco, Peter, 33,859, Garvey, John W., 33,859.



Graziano, Charles, 33,859, Waldron, Patrick, 33,859, Smith, Edgar F., 33,859, Taylor, John, 33,859.  
Horse Shoers, 246—Miller, George C., 246.

Hosiery Workers, 15,000—McKeown, Alexander, 3,750, Janaskie, Andrew, 3,750, Held, Fred G., 3,750, Banachowicz, Major, 3,750.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 300,000—Miller, Ed. S., 37,500, Weinberger, Jack, 37,500, Siegal, David, 37,500, Rogan, T. C., 37,500, Sarricks, Lawrence H., 37,500, Cooper, John L., 37,500, Peterson, Ida M., 37,500, Koenig, Louis, 37,500.

Insurance Agents, 12,544—Russ, George L., 3,136, Shine, Max, 3,136, Helzel, Charles G., 3,136 Pollack, Joseph, 3,136.

Insurance Workers, 8,734—William A. Gillen, 2,184, Simon Helfgott, 2,184, William S. MacDermott, 2,183, Arthur H. Higginson, 2,183.

Jewelry Workers, 20,457—Morris, Joseph, 5,115, Powell, Hyman J., 5,114, Barneholm, A. Herbert, 5,114, Spodick, Harry, 5,114.

Lathers, 15,540—McSorley, William J., 3,885, Mashburn, Lloyd A., 3,885, Hagen, Harry J., 3,885, Matthews, Walter, 3,885.

Laundry Workers, 72,237—Byers, Sam J., 12,040, James, E. C., 12,040, Naddeo, Charles, 12,040, Ballinger, Amy, 12,039, Chasmar, Winfield, 12,039, Gershman, Mischa, 12,039.

Leather Workers, 1,634—Richard B. O'Keefe, 817, Joseph A. Duffy, 817.

Letter Carriers, 100,000—Doherty, William C., 16,667, Cahill, Peter J., 16,667, Stocker, James C., 16,667, Farrell, William F., 16,667, Merritt, J. Byron, 16,666, Anderson, Henry, 16,666.

Amalgamated Lithographers, 28,022—John Blackburn, 5,605, Oliver Mertz, 5,605, Arthur W. Brown, 5,604, Francis P. Slater, 5,604, Martin Grayson, 5,604.

Longshoremen, 8,140—Long, Larry, 2,714, Slaughter, E. L., 2,713, Yeager, Frank, 2,713.

Machinists, 626,900—Hayes, A. J., 41,794, Peterson, Eugene, 41,794, Walker, Elmer E., 41,794, Cooney, Fred H., 41,794, White, E. R., 41,794, Dameron, William, 41,793, Snider, John, 41,793, Burrows, D. M., 41,793, Carey, Thomas, 41,793, Melton, Earl, 41,793, Brown, Roy M., 41,793, McGreen, J. L., 41,793, Slemiller, P. L., 41,793, McGlon, J. C., 41,793, Schollie, Geo. P., 41,793.

Maintenance of Way Employees, 159,127—Carroll, T. C., 19,891, Shoemaker, A., 19,891, Wilson, J. P., 19,891, Freccia, R., 19,891, Padgett, H. L., 19,891, Lambert, C. L., 19,891, Bailey, R. L., 19,891, Smith, C., 19,890.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, 6,000—McCarthy, William, 3,000, Conway, John J., 3,000.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Assoc., 8,583—Daggett, H. L., 2,146, La Barge, A. P., 2,146, Edwards, William J., 2,146, Edwards, Robert C., 2,145.

Marine & Shipbuilding, 26,955—Grogan, John J., 5,391, Blood, Ross D., 5,391, Pettis, Andrew A., 5,391, Townsley, Joseph N., 5,391, Williams, W. M., Jr., 5,391.

Maritime Union, 36,532—Curran, Joseph, 6,089, Stone, Hedley M., 6,089, Duffy, Adrian, 6,089, McDougal, John B., 6,089, Federoff, Steve, 6,088, Ramos, Dave M., 6,088.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, 9,467—At-

kins, C. T., 3,156, Bishop, J. M., 3,156, Lurvey, R. D., 3,155.

Meat Cutters, 262,749—Jimerson, Earl W., 26,275, Gorman, Patrick E., 26,275, Lloyd, T. J., 26,275, Belsky, Joseph, 26,275, Kelly, R. Emmett, 26,275, Muller, Karl, 26,275, Block, Max, 26,275, Hook, Marvin W., 26,275, Poole, Harry, 26,275, Wentz, Ray, 26,274.

Mechanics Educational Society, 48,989—White, George, 8,165, Smith, Matthew, 8,165, Tarpley, Roy, Sr., 8,165, Raymond, Jerry, 8,165, Kozma, James, 8,165, De Bella, James, 8,164.

Metal Workers, Sheet, 50,000—Byron, Robert, 8,334, Cronin, A. H., 8,334, Bruns, C. D., 8,333, Carrough, Edward, 8,333, Bonadio, Frank, 8,333, Ryan, James J., 8,333.

Millers, Grain, 32,655—Ming, S. P., 6,531, Schneider, H. A., 6,531, Frazier, Marion C., 6,531, Weiny, George D., 6,531, Crane, N. D., 6,531.

Molders, 66,955—Sample, Chester A., 11,160, Maddox, Carl, 11,159, Collette, Levi, 11,159, Weise, Frank L., 11,159, Scanlon, George, 11,159, Stein, Alphonse, 11,159.

Musicians, 249,755—Petrillo, James C., 35,680, Charette, Ed., 35,680, Ringius, Edward, 35,679, Field, Frank B., 35,679, Sidell, Robert, 35,679, Bagley, Charles L., 35,679, Davis, Hal C., 35,679.

Newspaper Guild, 21,252—Joseph F. Collis, 4,251, Joseph P. Murphy, 4,251, William J. Parson, 4,250, Arthur Rosenstock, 4,250, Charles A. Perlik, Jr., 4,250.

Office Employees, 43,827—Coughlin, Howard, 14,609, Hicks, J. Howard, 14,609, Juliano, Nicholas, 14,609.

Oil Workers, 160,240—O. A. Knight, 14,568, T. M. McCormick, 14,568, B. J. Schafer, 14,568, Joseph Appelbaum, 14,567, J. T. Curran, 14,567, Elwood D. Swisher, 14,567, John F. Dohaney, 14,567, W. J. Trombley, 14,567, Raymond M. Davis, 14,567, Arthur Ernst, 14,567, Richard J. Savage, 14,567.

Packinghouse Workers, 117,535—Ralph Helstein, 13,060, G. R. Hathaway, 13,060, A. T. Stephens, 13,060, Russell Lasley, 13,060, Fred Dowling, 13,059, Burton, LaRue, 13,059, Russell Bull, 13,059, George Thomas, 13,059, Charles Hayes, 13,059.

Painters, 182,127—Rafferty, Lawrence M., 26,018, Rohrberg, William H., 26,018, Yablonsky, Peter, 26,018, Owens, Frank, 26,018, Meehan, James, 26,018, Baker, Herbert, 26,018, Skoglund, Julius, 26,018.

Paper Makers, 59,738—Phillips, Paul L., 9,957, Addy, Joseph, 9,957, Jones, John R., 9,956, Bailey, John W., 9,956, Brown, Al. E., 9,956, Fisher, Mark, 9,956.

Paperworkers, 40,002, Harry D. Sayre, 6,667, Frank Grasso, 6,667, Charles Bridgewater, 6,667, Harry E. Scott, 6,667, Nicholas Vratari, 6,667, Donald Thoms, 6,667.

Pattern Makers, 11,000—Lynch, George Q., 11,000.

Plasterers, 60,393—Rooney, John E., 10,066, Leonard, Edward J., 10,066, Hauck, John J., 10,066, Brennan, John J., 10,065, Tantillo, Benedict, 10,065, McDevitt, James L., 10,065.

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, 200,000—Murray, Gene, 22,223, Meany, George, 22,223, Schoemann, Peter T., 22,222, Hillock, Edward J., 22,222, McLaughlin, Wm. J., 22,222, De Nike, Frank, 22,222, Murray, Thomas J., 22,222, McHenry, Alovsius, 22,222, Goodwin, John E., 22,222.

Polishers, Metal, 15,385—Muchhoffer, Ray, 3,847, Oates, Dennis J., 3,846, Weisler, Irving, 3,846, Scheuerman, Edward, 3,846.

Porters, Sleeping Car, 10,000—Randolph, A. Philip, 3,334, Webster, Milton P., 3,333, Delunas, C. L., 3,332.

Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, 1,200—Carniato, Andrew W., 1,200, Postal Transport Association, 22,469—Thomas, Wm., 5,618, Reilly, John L., 5,617, Nagle, Paul A., 5,617, Legge, W. J., Jr., 5,617.

Potters, 23,411—Hull, Frank, 5,853, Ansell, Lance, 5,853, Coberly, Ray, 5,853, Dales, C. Frank, 5,852.

Printers, Plate, 800—Brockwell, Harold D., 800.

Printing Pressmen, 87,467—Dunwoody, Thomas E., 12,496, Googe, George L., 12,496, Maxted, F. W., 12,495, De Andrade, Anthony J., 12,495, Turner, Walter, 12,495, Torrence, Jack P., 12,495, Rohan, A. J., 12,495.

Pulp and Sulphite Workers, 153,750—Burke, John P., 19,219, Meinz, Elmer P., 19,219, Stewart, Charles E., 19,219, Toncill, Joseph, 19,219, Segal, Henry, 19,219, Cianciulli, Bernard, 19,219, Wray, Harriet, 19,218, Jackman, Chris, 19,218.

Radio and Television Directors, 800—Burnett, Newman H., 800.

American Radio Assoc., 1,580—Bernard L. Smith, 790, William J. Steinberg, 790.

Railway Employees, Street and Electric, 138,866—Spradling, A. L., 15,430, Berrong, Sam B., 15,430, Mastrian, Michael M., 15,430, White, Louis R., 15,430, Galasso, Vincent, 15,430, Shaughnessy, Frank L., 15,429, McNamara, Daniel J., 15,429, Mischo, O. J., 15,429, White, Louis, 15,429.

Railway Patrolmen, 2,923—Macdonald, John V., 2,923.

Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store, 97,034—Max Greenberg, 10,782, Alvin E. Heaps, 10,782, Jack Paley, 10,782, Alex Ball, 10,782, Arthur Osman, 10,782, Sam Kovenetsky, 10,781, David Livingston, 10,781, Julius Sum, 10,781, Thomas Leone, 10,781.

Roofers, 17,808—Aquadro, Charles D., 4,452, Moore, Dean, 4,452, McConaty, John A., 4,452, Vetter, Ben D., 4,452.

Rubber Workers, 163,277—L. S. Buckmaster, 14,844, Joseph W. Childs, 14,844, Desmond Walker, 14,844, Josh Tools, 14,844, G. L. Lewis, 14,843, E. K. Bowers, 14,843, E. E. Hester, 14,843, Norman Allison, 14,843, Antone L. Campos, 14,843, Robert E. Garber, 14,843, John Skiffington, 14,843.

Seafarers, 41,526—Lundberg, Harry, 8,306, Hall, Paul, 8,305, Gomez, Andrea, 8,305, Fox, John M., 8,305, Banks, Hal, 8,305.

Shoe Workers, 51,245—Mitchell, James J., 7,321, Taylor, Russell J., 7,321, Bringle, James E., 7,321, Pence Emerson T., 7,321, Griffin, John C., 7,321, Goldstein, Meyer L., 7,320, Morin, Harriet S., 7,320.

Signalmen, 15,330—Clark, Jesse, 3,833, Fields, C. K., 3,833, Howard, S. H., 3,832, Hogan, John F., 3,832.

Special Delivery Messengers, 2,000—Warfel, George L., 2,000.

Stage Employes, Theatrical, 46,000—Walsh, Richard, 9,200, Holmden, Harland, 9,200, Green, Thomas V., 9,200, McNabb, James, 9,200, Mungovan, Michael J., 9,200.

State, County and Municipal Employees, 98,991—Zander, Arnold S., 14,142.

Chapman, Gordon W., 14,142, Morgan Thomas E., 14,142, Ruthenberg, Alvin H., 14,142, McEntee, William J., 14,141, Wurf, Jerry, 14,141, Mitten, Adrian L., 14,141.

Steel Workers of America, 979,595—McDonald, David J., 32,654, Abel, I. W., 32,654, Robb, James, 32,654, Hague, Howard R., 32,654, A. J. Kojetinsky, 32,654, Walsh Martin J., 32,653, Whitehouse, Al, 32,653, Ford, H. Charles, 32,653, McNichols, Joseph T., 32,653, Bester, Earl T., 32,653, Millard, Charles H., 32,653, Nicholson, James C., 32,653, Ohler, Berlin W., 32,653, Atallah, Albert, 32,653, Farr, R. E., 32,653, Burns, Martin, 32,653, Johns, John S., 32,653, Germano, Joseph, 32,653, Shane, Thomas, 32,653, Griffin, James P., 32,653, Murray John F., 32,653, Smith, Charles J., 32,653, Nelles, Lorne H., 32,653, Maurice, Eugene, 32,653, Grajciar, John W., 32,653, Medrick, George, 32,653, Burke, Walter J., 32,653, Rusen, Paul, 32,653, Hough, Bert, 32,653, Newell, Carmon B., 32,653.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers, 12,366—Buckley, Leo J., 6,183, Farrenkopf, Frank, 6,183.

Stone Cutters, 1,900—De Pace, Frank, 1,900.

Stone & Allied, 11,387—Scott, Sam H., 2,847, Lawson, John C., 2,847, Lowry, Lewis R., 2,847, Dickens, Kenneth, 2,846.

Stone Mounters, 9,545—Lewis, Joseph, 3,182, Roberts, James M., 3,182, Kaiser, Edw. W., 3,181.

Switchmen, 10,540, Fleete, William A., 5,270, Collins, Daniel W., 5,270.

Teachers, 40,000, Megel, Carl J., 8,000, Elder, Arthur A., 8,000, Borchardt, Selma M., 8,000, Pewkes, John M., 8,000, Roth, Herrick S., 8,000.

Teamsters, 1,229,798—Beck, Dave, 53,470, English, John F., 53,470, Biggers, John L., 53,470, Lester, Robert, 53,470, Postma, Peter J., 53,470, Bowen, B. L., 53,470, Cleary, Joseph, 53,470, Hicks, William M., 53,470, Steinberg, L., 53,470, Clare, Ralph, 53,470, Thirion, Harold, 53,470, Harkins, Lewis, 53,469, Hoffa, James, 53,469, Mohn, Einar, 53,469, Griffin, Wm., 53,469, Lee, Wm. A., 53,469, Williams, Roy, 53,469, Gibbons, Harold, 53,469, Anderson, Ernie, 53,469, San Soucie, Gene, 53,469, Saffo, Peter, 53,469, Presler, Wm., 53,469, Triscaro, Babe, 53,469.

Telegraphers, Railroad, 30,000—Leighty, G. E., 15,000, Manion, E. J., 15,000.

Telegraphers, Commercial, 28,840—Allen, W. L., 28,840.

Textile Workers, 48,730—Valente, Anthony, 9,746, Klenert, Lloyd, 9,746, Jacobs, Joseph, 9,746, Sgambato, Frank, 9,746, Schaufenblit, Francis, 9,746.

Textile Workers, 202,500—Emil Rieve, 18,410, John Chupka, 18,409, R. J. Wm. Belanger, 18,409, William Pollock, 18,409, Boyd E. Payton, 18,409, Sol Stetin, 18,409, Wesley A. Cook, 18,409, Harold Daoust, 18,409, Jack Rubenstein, 18,409, H. S. Williams, 18,409, William Gordon, 18,409.

Tobacco Workers, 26,667—O'Hara, John, 8,889, Blane, S. E., 8,889, Petree, R. J., 8,889.

Transport Service Employees, 3,000—Townsend, Willard S., 1,000, Young, Al, 1,000, Weaver, George L-P., 1,000.

Transport Workers Union, 80,000—Quill, Michael J., 10,000, Faber, Gustav,

10,000, Guinan, Mathew, 10,000, Attreed, Eugene V., 10,000, Sheehan, Frank, 10,000, O'Rourke, Paul, 10,000, Horst, James F., 10,000, Lopez, John, 10,000.

Typographical, 77,991 — Randolph, Woodruff, 11,142, Moriarty, J. Arthur, 11,142, Hathaway, Ernest M., 11,142, Reilly, Wallace C., 11,142, Herrmann, Lewis M., 11,141, Brigham, Fred H., 11,141, Peth, Thomas, 11,141.

Upholsterers, 50,616 — Hoffman, Sal B., 8,436, Rota, Alfred R., 8,436, Remshardt, Tony, 8,436, Bucher, George, 8,436, Albarino, R. Alvin, 8,436, Kohn, William, 8,436.

Utility Workers, 52,854 — Joseph A. Fisher, 7,551, William J. Pachler, 7,551, Harold J. Straub, 7,551, William R. Munger, 7,551, Patrick McGrath, 7,550, James T. Watson, 7,550, Reginald Brown, 7,550.

Woodworkers, 91,306 — A. F. Hartung, 10,146, William Botkin, 10,145, J. E. Dicey, 10,145, Harvey R. Nelson, 10,145, Tim Sullivan, 10,145, Gordon Johnson, 10,145, Arley Anderson, 10,145, J. E. Fadling, 10,145, Howard Gardiner, 10,145.

Yardmasters, 4,000 — Schoch, Milton G., 2,000, Meyer, W. Fred, 2,000.

## DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades Department, 1—Gray, Richard J., 1.

Maritime Trades Department, 1—Weisberger, Morris, 1.

Metal Trades Department, 1—Brownlow, James A., 1.

Railroad Employes' Department, 1—Fox, Michael, 1.

Union Label and Service Trades Department, 1—Leheney, Raymond F., 1.

## STATE CENTRAL BODIES

Alabama—Holley, P. G., 1.

Alabama—Robertson, Cecil A., 1.

Alaska—McFarland, R. E., 1.

Arizona—Brown, Keene S., 1.

Arizona—Dragon, Nicholas, 1.

Arkansas—McKimney, Vernon E., 1.

Arkansas—Ellison, George H., 1.

California—Haggerty, C. J., 1.

California—Dias, Manuel, 1.

Colorado—Van Partfliet, Frank G., 1.

Colorado—Anderson, R. C., 1.

Connecticut—Rourke, Joseph M., 1.

Connecticut—Sviridoff, Mitchell, 1.

Delaware—Derrickson, Gene, 1.

Delaware—Colatiano, Charles, 1.

Florida—Roche, Frank G., 1.

Florida—Walton, Howard D., 1.

Georgia—King, F. H., 1.

Georgia—Montague, W. H., Sr., 1.

Idaho—McIntire, Elmer F., 1.

Idaho—Beattie, Albert G., 1.

Illinois—Soderstrom, Reuben G., 1.

Illinois—McElligott, Maurice F., 1.

Indiana—Mullen, Carl H., 1.

Indiana—Sells, Dallas, 1.

Iowa—Mills, Ray, 1.

Iowa—Dale, Vernon, 1.

Kansas—Black, F. E., 1.

Kansas—Yount, H. J., 1.

Kentucky—Coke, Oscar J., 1.

Kentucky—Billingsley, Wm. F., 1.

Louisiana—Bourg, E. J., 1.

Louisiana—Flory, K. G., 1.

Maine—Dorsky, Benjamin J., 1.

Maine—Jabar, George, 1.

Maryland—District of Columbia—Preller, Clement F., 1.

Maryland—Windsor, Culver B., 1.

Massachusetts—Kelley, Kenneth J., 1.

Massachusetts—Camella, Salvatore, 1.

Michigan—Thorpe, John H., 1.

Michigan—Scholle, August, 1.

Minnesota—Sherburne, Neil C., 1.

Minnesota—Jacobson, Rodney C., 1.

Mississippi—Hines, W. L., 1.

Mississippi—Hanna, J. B., 1.

Missouri—Rollings, John I., 1.

Missouri—Davis, James A., 1.

Montana—Umber, James S., 1.

Montana—Leary, James J., 1.

Nebraska—Fieble, Gordon C., 1.

Nebraska—Stockier, J. H., 1.

Nevada—Ryan, James G., 1.

New Hampshire—Moriarty, Joseph, 1.

New Hampshire—Pitarsy, Thomas, 1.

New Jersey—Marciente, Louis P., 1.

New Jersey—Krebs, Paul, 1.

New Mexico—Roberts, W. S., 1.

New York—Murray, Thomas A., 1.

New York—Hollander, Louis, 1.

North Carolina—Barbee, W. M., 1.

North Carolina—Holder, J. W., 1.

Ohio—Hannah, Phil., 1.

Ohio—Clayman, Jacob, 1.

Oklahoma—Gillen, James A., 1.

Oklahoma—Yarborough, Len, 1.

Oregon—Marr, James T., 1.

Oregon—Brown, George, 1.

Pennsylvania—McDonough, Joseph A., 1.

Pennsylvania—Boyer, Harry, 1.

Puerto Rico—Marcano, Hipolito, 1.

Rhode Island—Brown, Edwin C., 1.

Rhode Island—Policastro, Thomas F., 1.

South Carolina—Britton, Earle R., 1.

South Carolina—Knox, L. B., 1.

South Dakota—Maag, Albert J., 1.

Tennessee—Smith, Stanton E., 1.

Tennessee—Evans, Leonard, 1.

Texas—Holleman, Jerry R., 1.

Texas—Schmidt, Fred, 1.

Utah—Turner, David S., 1.

Utah—Konkle, Ormond, 1.

Vermont—St. Armour, C. E., 1.

Vermont—Driscoll, Morris, 1.

Virginia—Welsted, I. C., 1.

Virginia—Carper, Julian F., 1.

Washington—Weston, E. M., 1.

Washington—Slater, Harold, 1.

West Virginia—Carter, E. A., 1.

West Virginia—Rusen, Paul, 1.

Wisconsin—Haberman, George A., 1.

Wisconsin—Walter, Wilbert, 1.

Wyoming—Tucker, Frank E., 1.

Wyoming—Krusee, E. S., 1.

## LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Adrian, Mich.—Baker, Everett, 1.

Akron, Ohio—Radabaugh, L. W., 1.

Albany, N. Y.—Cerutti, Joseph P., 1.

Albuquerque, New Mex.—McCoy J. B., 1.

Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va.—Koehne, Herbert M., 1.

Alton, Ill.—Blakely, James E., 1.

Anchorage, Alaska—Groothuis, Harold, 1.

Ann Arbor, Mich.—Washtenaw County—Predmore, Wayne, 1.

Ashland County, Ohio—Hackett, Wade A., 1.

Astoria, Oregon—McClure, M. J., 1.

Atlanta, Ga.—Moore, J. O., 1.

Atlantic City, N. J.—Moretti, John, 1.

Auburn, N. Y.—Maggio, Canio, 1.

Augusta, Ga.—Rowe, W. A., 1.

Baltimore, Md.—Filbey, Francis S., 1.

Barberton, Ohio—Whitman, Lewis, 1.

Barre, Vt.—Dykeman, Frederick, 1.



- Baton Rouge, La.—Conran, Robert I., 1.  
 Bay City, Mich.—Wolfgang, Myra K., 1.  
 Beaver County, Pa.—Russo, James J., 1.  
 Bedford, Ind.—Ashley, James, 1.  
 Belleville, Ill.—Reichling, William P., 1.  
 Benton Harbor, Mich.—Knox, Taylor Marshall, Sr., 1.  
 Bergen County, N. J.—Seward, Arthur, 1.  
 Binghamton, N. Y.—Quinn, Maurice J., 1.  
 Birmingham, Ala.—Medders, John, 1.  
 Blair County, Pa.—Lane, Thomas F., 1.  
 Bloomington, Ind.—Whitehurst, Earl, 1.  
 Blue Island, Ill.—Nielubowski, Robert A., 1.  
 Boston, Mass.—McCloskey, Stephen E., 1.  
 Bridgeport, Conn.—Regnery, Frank, 1.  
 Brockton, Mass.—Bridges, Henry, 1.  
 Bucks County, Pa.—Rodgers, Henry J., 1.  
 Buffalo, N. Y.—Higgins, John J., 1.  
 Butler, Pa.—Sabel, Joseph H., 1.  
 Calumet, Ill.—Moenich, Joseph, 1.  
 Cambridge, Mass.—Sullivan, Edward T., 1.  
 Camden, N. J.—McComb, Joseph J., 1.  
 Canton, Ohio—Pollock, Sam, 1.  
 Carbondale, Pa.—Fitch, Clyde O., 1.  
 Centre County, Pa.—Fisher, Marlin M., 1.  
 Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley—Rebhan, Frank A., 1.  
 Chattanooga, Tenn.—Cuthbert, Brownie H., 1.  
 Chehalis and Centralia, Wash.—Bradley, A. A., 1.  
 Chicago, Ill.—Lee, William A., 1.  
 Chicago Heights, Ill.—Johnson, Jeff O., 1.  
 Cincinnati, Ohio—Hurst, John J., 1.  
 Clark, Skamania and West Klicitat Counties, Wash.—Smith, William R., 1.  
 Clearfield County, Pa.—Caldwell, Clifton C., 1.  
 Cleveland, Ohio—Finegan, William, 1.  
 Clinton County, Pa.—Beglar, Sam, 1.  
 Colorado Springs, Colo.—Cavender, George A., 1.  
 Columbus, Ind.—Taylor, Wesley I., 1.  
 Columbus, Ohio—Vesey, Albert D., 1.  
 Contra Costa County, Calif.—Cooper, Bernice, 1.  
 Council Bluffs, Iowa—Pardekooper, Martin, 1.  
 Dade County, Fla.—Nuckols, Burton P., 1.  
 Dallas, Tex.—Terrell, George, 1.  
 Danville, Ky.—Bugher, Forrest, 1.  
 Dayton, Ohio—Bredenbach, John E., 1.  
 Daytona Beach, Fla.—Palmer, Bob, 1.  
 Decatur, Ala.—McDuffie, W. W., 1.  
 Delaware County, Pa.—Mullen, Jack, 1.  
 Denver, Colo.—Youngs, James R., 1.  
 Des Moines, Iowa—Jeffries, Ben E., 1.  
 Detroit, Mich. (Wayne County)—Gibson, James G., 1.  
 Dover, N. J.—Butler, Robert S., 1.  
 Duluth, Minn.—Olson, Robert A., 1.  
 East Liverpool, Ohio—Duffy, Frank, 1.  
 Easton, Pa.—Seifert, Stewart A., 1.  
 East St. Louis, Ill.—Pirtle, Charles A., 1.  
 Elgin, Ill.—Ehlert, Glenn, 1.  
 Elizabeth, N. J.—Cushing, George F., 1.  
 Elyria, Ohio—Herman, Wayne, 1.  
 Erie, Pa.—Ricci, Michael, 1.  
 Escanaba, Mich.—Allingham, R. Earle, 1.  
 Evansville, Ind.—Soucie, John G., 1.  
 Five Counties, Calif.—Gillera, Frank, 1.  
 Flint, Mich.—Clark, Gilbert, 1.  
 Fort Wayne, Ind.—Keppler, Wayne, 1.  
 Fresno, Calif.—O'Rear, W. T., 1.  
 Galesburg, Ill.—Moon, William H., 1.  
 Geneva, N. Y.—Brennan, Henry S., 1.  
 Gibson County, Ind.—Harpe, Ralph, 1.  
 Grand Island, Nebr.—Mundy, Leonard, 1.  
 Grand Rapids, Mich.—Amsterburg, Robert J., 1.  
 Grundy County, Ill.—King, John, 1.  
 Hagerstown, Md.—Lushbaugh, Lester, 1.  
 Harrisburg, Pa.—Kline, Alan E., 1.  
 Hartford, Conn.—Scott, William, 1.  
 Honolulu, T. H.—Reile, A. S., 1.  
 Hopkinsville, Ky.—Ezelle, Sam, 1.  
 Houston, Texas—Coward, N. E., 1.  
 Hudson County, N. J.—Quinn, Joseph G., 1.  
 Indianapolis, Ind.—Roberts, Jacob R., 1.  
 Jackson County, Mich.—French, Charles, 1.  
 Jackson, Miss.—Ross, Holt, 1.  
 Jackson, Tenn.—McLemore, E. Brooks, 1.  
 Jamestown, N. Y.—Ritzo, George T., 1.  
 Jasper, Ala.—Barnett, E. J., 1.  
 Jefferson City, Mo.—Howser, Victor, 1.  
 Johnson City, Tenn.—Houk, Charles M., 1.  
 Johnstown, Pa.—Arcurie, Frank, 1.  
 Joliet, Ill. (Will County)—Miller, S. P., 1.  
 Juneau, Alaska—McFarland, R. E., 1.  
 Kalamazoo, Mich.—Bailey, Florence, 1.  
 Kansas City, Kan.—Harrison, Geo. J., 1.  
 Kansas City, Mo.—Raymond, Hugh L., 1.  
 Kenosha, Wis.—Whiteside, Paul, 1.  
 Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.—Koester, William B., 1.  
 Keokuk, Iowa—Weiny, Vivian, 1.  
 Klamath Falls, Oregon—Sweetman, Alma, 1.  
 Knoxville, Tenn.—Comer, Fred F., 1.  
 Lake Charles, La.—Frater, M. L., 1.  
 Lake County, Colo.—Bell, Charles J., 1.  
 Lake County, Ind.—Schutz, Fred F., 1.  
 Lancaster, Ohio—Freeman, Henry, 1.  
 Lansing, Mich.—Borst, Tom, 1.  
 Laramie, Wyo.—Walter, W. J., 1.  
 Lawrence, Mass.—Callahan, John A., 1.  
 Lawrence County, Pa.—Davis, Richard C., 1.  
 Leavenworth, Kans.—Townsend, George, 1.  
 Labanon County, Pa.—McCarten, George, 1.  
 Lexington, Ky.—Gregg, Turner W., 1.  
 Livingston, Mont.—Collins, John D., 1.  
 Long Beach, Calif.—Brown, Edward L., 1.  
 Longview, Tex.—Johnson, A. R., 1.  
 Lorain City, Ohio—Scheid, Richard, 1.  
 Los Angeles, Calif.—Bassett, W. J., 1.  
 Louisville, Ky.—Blume, Norbert, 1.  
 Lowell, Mass.—Le Bow, Sidney E., 1.  
 Lynn, Mass.—Donovan, John F., 1.  
 McKeesport, Pa.—Hagarty, Nicholas J., 1.  
 Macomb County, Mich.—Carver, K. Jack, 1.  
 Macon, Ga.—Pate, J. B., 1.  
 Madison, Wis.—Huffman, Richard H., 1.  
 Malden, Mass.—Regan, John J., 1.  
 Manchester, N. H.—Martel, Louis I., 1.  
 Marysville, Calif.—Weakley, Ronald T., 1.  
 Memphis, Tenn.—Gorman, John R., 1.  
 Meriden, Conn.—Depaulo, Joseph N., 1.  
 Michigan City, Ind.—Maddocks, William, 1.  
 Middletown, Ohio—Lukens, Robert M., 1.  
 Milwaukee, Wis.—Friedrick, J. F., 1.  
 Minneapolis, Minn.—Cramond, Walter R., 1.  
 Mobile, Ala.—Griffin, Carl E., 1.  
 Modesto, Calif.—Green, C. Al., 1.  
 Monroe, La.—Kreger, Fred, 1.  
 Monterey Peninsula, Calif.—Wilson, George, 1.  
 Montgomery, Ala.—Williams, Ted, 1.  
 Moses Lake, Wash.—Gibson, Harold J., 1.  
 Muncie, Ind.—McMahan, George, 1.  
 Munising, Mich.—Wilderspin, C., 1.  
 Muscatine, Iowa—Bayers, Gerald L., 1.  
 Muskegon County, Mich.—Pierce, Arthur M., 1.

- Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y.—MacGregor, Robert W., 1.  
 Newark, N. J. (Essex Trades)—Fuchs, Morris, 1.  
 Newark, Ohio—Muhleman, Forest R., 1.  
 New Bedford, Mass.—Vertente, John Jr., 1.  
 New Britain, Conn.—O'Brien, Francis W., 1.  
 New Brunswick, N. J.—Hallenebeck, Edwin F., 1.  
 New Orleans, La.—Soule, Robert L., 1.  
 Newport, R. I.—Fournier, Albert, 1.  
 New York, N. Y.—Quinn, James C., 1.  
 Niagara Falls, N. Y.—Jordan, Harry S., 1.  
 Norfolk, Va.—Paul, C. H., 1.  
 North Platte, Nebr.—Atwood, Fern, 1.  
 Northumberland County, Pa.—Miller Edward H., 1.  
 Oakland, Calif.—Ash, Robert S., 1.  
 Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Sylvia, Theodore M., 1.  
 Oklahoma City, Okla.—Held, John K., 1.  
 Olean, N. Y.—Myrick, Osborn, 1.  
 Omaha, Nebr.—Silhasek, Joseph, 1.  
 Orange County, Calif.—Hull, Wayne J., 1.  
 Oregon City, Oregon—Sweet, Gertrude, 1.  
 Owego, N. Y.—Rose, Martin, 1.  
 Ottumwa, Iowa—Baum, Earl J., 1.  
 Paducah, Ky.—Kerth, C. L., 1.  
 Pasadena, Calif.—De Silva, Joseph T., 1.  
 Pasco-Kennewick, Wash.—Loiseau, Lionel, 1.  
 Passaic County, N. J.—Maso, Sal, 1.  
 Pawtucket, R. I.—Carey, Hope V., 1.  
 Peoria, Ill.—Rimington, Anna C., 1.  
 Perth Amboy, N. J.—Soltes, John, 1.  
 Petaluma, Calif.—Thornton, Sylvan, 1.  
 Petersburg-Hopewell, Va.—Butler, John R., 1.  
 Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feigl, John A., 1.  
 Philadelphia, Pa.—Blumberg, Norman, 1.  
 Phoenix, Ariz.—Sebestyen, George S., 1.  
 Polk County, Fla.—Hunley, Noel R., 1.  
 Pomona Valley, Calif.—Hyans, Curtis J., 1.  
 Pontiac-Oakland, Calif.—Cook, Alex, 1.  
 Port Huron, Mich.—Delaney, Raymond A., 1.  
 Portland, Maine—Howe, Horace E., 1.  
 Portland, Oregon—Anderson, Gust, 1.  
 Portsmouth, N. H.—Sheehan, Thomas E., 1.  
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Sorenson, William, 1.  
 Providence, R. I.—Di Sano, Salvatore, 1.  
 Quincy, Ill.—Trine, Oscar, 1.  
 Quincy, Mass.—Wipfler, John, 1.  
 Reading and Berks County, Pa.—Haletsky, John T., 1.  
 Renton, Wash.—McDonald, Jack, 1.  
 Richmond, Ind.—Dean, William E., 1.  
 Richmond, Va.—Boyd, Harold, 1.  
 Riverside, Calif.—Williams, Sam K., 1.  
 Roanoke, Va.—Myers, R. E., 1.  
 Rochester, N. Y.—Burke, James L., 1.  
 Sacramento, Calif.—Finks, Harry, 1.  
 Saginaw, Mich.—McIlvain, G. N., 1.  
 St. Helens, Oregon—Hill, Roy C., 1.  
 St. Joseph, Mo.—Welsh, Warren S., 1.  
 St. Louis, Mo.—Webb, William A., 1.  
 St. Paul, Minn.—Schleifer, Frank J., 1.  
 Salem County, N. J.—Schachter, Leon B., 1.  
 Salem, Ore.—Egan, L. E., 1.  
 Salisbury, Md. (Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula)—Cohen, Harry, 1.  
 Salt Lake City, Utah—Evans, Don R., 1.  
 San Antonio, Texas—Tyler, Julia, 1.  
 San Bernardino, Calif.—Howard, J. W., 1.  
 San Diego County, Calif.—Quimby, John W., 1.  
 Sandusky, Ohio—Kistler, Forrest, 1.  
 San Francisco, Calif.—Johns, George W., 1.  
 San Mateo, Calif.—Ballerini, Anthony, 1.  
 San Pedro-Wilmington, Calif.—Seltzer, Richard J., 1.  
 San Rafael, Calif.—Rotell, Thomas A., 1.  
 Santa Monica, Calif.—Pitts, Thomas L., 1.  
 Savannah, Ga.—Cain, John Wesley, 1.  
 Schenectady, N. Y.—Carmichael, Richard J., 1.  
 Scranton, Pa.—Downes, Joseph L., 1.  
 Seattle, Wash.—Carr, Harry L., 1.  
 Sedalia, Mo.—Bowles, Otto, 1.  
 Shreveport, La.—Bussie, Victor, 1.  
 South Bend, Ind.—Barders, Tex. W., 1.  
 South Chicago, Ill.—Doyle, Frank E., 1.  
 Springfield, Ill.—Bonansinga, Sam, 1.  
 Springfield, Mass.—Suprenant, Roy J., 1.  
 Springfield, Mo.—Cline, J. Frank, 1.  
 Stamford, Conn.—Friend, George M., 1.  
 Syracuse, N. Y.—Ferrante, Nicholas, 1.  
 Texas City, Texas—Le Unes, G. J., 1.  
 The Dalles, Oregon—Scanlon, Thomas L., 1.  
 Tillamook, Oregon—Howard, William H., 1.  
 Toledo, Ohio—Fischer, Frank, 1.  
 Topeka, Kans.—Robinson, H. V., 1.  
 Trenton, N. J.—Dunn, Thomas J., 1.  
 Trumbull County, Ohio—La Polla, Ruth M., 1.  
 Tucson, Ariz.—Darland, Fara, 1.  
 Tulsa, Okla.—Vinall, R. P., 1.  
 Urbana-Champaign, Ill.—James Clifford H., 1.  
 Utica, N. Y.—De Perno, R. J., 1.  
 Ventura, Calif.—Cowan, Walter, 1.  
 Vincennes, Ind.—Reed, Walter, 1.  
 Visalia, Calif. (Tulare Co.)—Hyans, C. J. Curt, 1.  
 Washington, D. C.—McGuigan, F. H., 1.  
 Waterbury, Conn.—Collins, Timothy M., 1.  
 Watertown, N. Y.—Cunningham, F. Roger, 1.  
 Waukesha, Wis.—Davis, John R., 1.  
 Wayne County, Ohio—Dunlap, Cecil, 1.  
 Westchester County, N. Y.—Stauder, Lewis, 1.  
 Wichita, Kans.—Malcolm, W. W., 1.  
 Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Matheson, Min Lurye, 1.  
 Willimantic, Conn.—La Pointe, Emmett F., 1.  
 Willmar, Minn.—Burns, Don H., 1.  
 Wilmington, Del.—Green, Leo B., 1.  
 Wood River, Ill.—Harrelson, Frank, 1.  
 Worcester, Mass.—Saltus, Alfred A., 1.  
 Yavapai County, Ariz.—Peterson, Paul M., 1.  
 York County, Pa.—Hopkins, David J., 1.  
 Youngstown, Ohio—Bishop, Charles G., 1.

### LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

- Bessemer, Ala.—F. C. McGinnis, 1.  
 Birmingham, Ala.—Donald D. Stafford, 1.  
 Gadsden, Ala.—E. R. Elkins, 1.  
 Huntsville, Ala.—Frank N. Hoffman, 1.  
 Mobile, Ala.—Lillian F. Schermer, 1.  
 Montgomery County, Ala.—James W. Battles, 1.  
 Tuscaloosa Co., Ala.—Carey E. Hagler, 1.  
 Fort Smith, Ark.—George Ellison, 1.  
 Greater Alameda Co., Calif.—James Drury, 1.

- Contra Costa, Calif.—Joseph Angelo, 1.  
Los Angeles, Calif.—Albert T. Lunceford, 1.  
San Diego, Calif.—James H. Curry, 1.  
San Francisco, Calif.—Arthur Hellender, 1.
1. Denver, Colo.—Fred C. Pieper, 1.  
Bridgeport, Conn.—Edward J. Lavery, 1.  
Bristol, Conn.—Lottie Elliott, 1.  
Hartford, Conn.—Roger McQuiggan, 1.  
Grtr. Naugatuck, Conn.—Raymond Mengacci, 1.  
New Haven, Conn.—William Stapleton, 1.
1. Stamford, Conn.—E. E. Phelps, 1.  
Grtr. Waterbury, Conn.—Herman Bel-sky, 1.  
District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.—Monaghan, 1.  
Duval County, Fla.—C. H. Gillman, 1.  
Atlanta, Ga.—Jesse Lester, 1.  
Cook County, Ill.—Ellsworth M. Smith, 1.
1. Four Counties, Ill.—Sam L. Grogg, 1.  
Lake County, Ill.—Harvey Pearson, 1.  
LaSalle County, Ill.—Robert D. Bollard, 1.
1. Peoria, Ill.—Peter J. Watson, 1.  
Rockford, Ill.—Robert Foss, 1.  
St. Clair Co., Ill.—Val Cox, 1.  
Springfield, Ill.—Frank England, 1.  
Tri-City, Ill.—Lloyd McBride, 1.  
Will County, Ill.—Frank Mlakar, 1.  
DeKalb County, Ind.—Franz E. Daniel, 1.
1. Delaware County, Ind.—John Wells, 1.  
Elkhart County, Ind.—Clement Nitka, 1.  
Evansville, Ind.—Charles Pearce, 1.  
Fayette County, Ind.—George P. Jones, 1.
1. Fort Wayne, Ind.—Roy Newer, 1.  
Howard County, Ind.—Daniel S. Bedell, 1.
1. Indianapolis, Ind.—Timothy Smith, 1.  
Lake County, Ind.—John Truchan, 1.  
Lawrence Co., Ind.—John Bartee, 1.  
Madison County, Ind.—Harold J. Goeh-ring, 1.  
New Castle, Ind.—Harlan J. Noel, 1.  
St. Joseph Co., Ind.—Stanley Ladd, 1.  
Twin Counties, Ind.—Carol M. Hutton, 1.  
Vigo County, Ind.—James P. Broshears, 1.
1. Wayne County, Ind.—Richard G. Fritz-meier, 1.  
Black Hawk Co., Iowa—Carl Dahl, 1.  
Cedar Rapids, Iowa—Henry J. Henry, 1.  
Cerro Gordo, Iowa—Frank Cronin, 1.  
Des Moines, Iowa—Harry Booth, 1.  
Dubuque County, Iowa—Rudolph Esko-vitz, 1.  
Ottumwa, Iowa—Ben Henry, 1.  
Sioux City, Iowa—Edris H. Owens, 1.  
Webster Co., Iowa—Richard T. Leonard, 1.
1. Topeka, Kans.—Willard Murphy, 1.  
Wichita, Kans.—James E. Taylor, 1.  
Boyd and Greenup Co., Ky.—Henry Siebert, 1.  
Louisville, Ky.—Emil Cornett, 1.  
Paducah Area, Ky.—Paul R. Christo-pher, 1.  
Central Maryland IUC, Md.—Glenn R. Brayton, 1.  
Greater Boston, Mass.—John J. Horan, 1.  
Greater Lawrence, Mass.—Ralph D. Ari-vella, 1.  
Greater New Bedford, Mass.—George E. Carignan, 1.  
Lynn, Mass.—James Fuller, 1.  
Western Massachusetts, Mass.—Herman Greenberg, 1.  
Worcester, Mass.—James B. Lavin, 1.
- Bay County, Mich.—Herbert T. McCree-dy, 1.  
Cadillac Co., Mich.—Al Barbour, 1.  
Calhoun Co., Mich.—James A. Morgan, 1.
1. Dickinson Co., Mich.—Henry Scouth-well, 1.  
Grand Traverse, Mich.—Charles A. Ro-gers, 1.  
Greater Detroit and Wayne, Mich.—Mike Novak, 1.  
Greater Flint, Mich.—Lawrence J. Fin-nin, 1.  
Gogebic Co., Mich.—N. A. Zonarich, 1.  
Greater Ingham Co., Mich.—Elton E. Tubbs, 1.  
Jackson County, Mich.—Victor G. Reu-ther, 1.  
Kalamazoo, Mich.—Clarence A. Jackson, 1.
1. Kent County, Mich.—Florence Peterson, 1.
1. Lenawee County, Mich.—Jack T. Con-way, 1.  
Macomb County, Mich.—Barney Hop-kins, 1.  
Marquette Co., Mich.—Smoile Chatak, 1.  
Monroe Co., Mich.—George E. Baker, 1.  
Pontiac & Oakland, Mich.—Fred V. Hag-gard, 1.  
Port Cities, Mich.—Brendon Sexton, 1.  
Saginaw District, Mich.—John T. Jas-per, 1.  
St. Clair Co., Mich.—Larry Gettlinger, 1.  
Sturgis & St. Jos. Co., Mich.—Lyle Carr, 1.
1. Washtenaw Co., Mich.—Roy L. Reuther, 1.
1. Duluth, Minn.—Stewart M. Hockin, 1.  
Hennepin Co., Minn.—John C. Bryant, 1.  
Iron Range, Minn.—Nick Krmpotich, 1.  
St. Paul, Minn.—Charles Rafferty, 1.  
Greater Kansas City, Mo.—John R. Ca-pell, Jr., 1.
1. St. Joseph, Mo.—William Lewis, 1.  
St. Louis, Mo.—Oscar A. Ehrhardt, 1.  
Lincoln, Neb.—D. W. Starnes, 1.  
Omaha-Council Bluffs, Neb.—Delmond Garst, 1.  
Bergen County, N. J.—Jeremiah Dono-van, 1.
1. Burlington Co., N. J.—Ernest Sternotti, 1.
1. Central Jersey, N. J.—Charles Kovacs, 1.  
Essex-W. Hudson Cts., N. J.—Hugh Cald-well, 1.
1. Hudson County, N. J.—Nicholas L. Feo-la, 1.
1. Middlesex Co., N. J.—Ernest J. Toth, 1.  
Passaic County, N. J.—Christopher J. Frawley, 1.
1. South Jersey, N. J.—Frank E. Meloni, 1.  
Union County, N. J.—James Trice, 1.  
Greater Buffalo, N. Y.—James Miller, 1.  
Dunkirk Area, N. Y.—William J. Hart, 1.  
Finger Lakes, N. Y.—John J. Maurillo, 1.
1. Jamestown Area, N. Y.—Samuel Ofano, 1.
1. New York City, N. Y.—Morris Iushe-witz, 1.  
Nassau & Suffolk Cts., N. Y.—Emil G. Lindahl, 1.
1. Niagara County, N. Y.—William S. Hil-ger, 1.  
Oswego County, N. Y.—Joseph Lovas, 1.  
Rochester, N. Y.—John H. Cooper, 1.  
Schenectady Area, N. Y.—Sandy Mor-reale, 1.
1. Greater Syracuse, N. Y.—John Ewanis-zyk, 1.  
Troy Area, N. Y.—Joseph C. Killian, 1.  
Upper Hudson Area, N. Y.—Sy Cohen, 1.

- Greater Utica, N. Y.—Joseph P. Molony,  
1. Westchester, N. Y.—Wilbur Riddett, 1.  
Mecklenburg Co., N. C.—John R. Graham, 1.  
Akron, Ohio—Leo E. Dugan, 1.  
Alliance, Ohio—R. J. McCaulley, 1.  
Ashtabula Co., Ohio—Fred Saverice, 1.  
Barberton, Ohio—Walter Smethurst, 1.  
Butler, Ohio—John G. Vechazone, 1.  
Greater Cincinnati, Ohio—Edward B. Hellkamp, 1.  
Cleveland, Ohio—Elwood S. Detirich, 1.  
Columbiana, Ohio—Sam Camens, 1.  
Franklin Co., Ohio—Harry E. Mayfield,  
1. Licking Co., Ohio—Charles L. Cory, 1.  
Lima Regional, Ohio—Harry Winkeljohn, 1.  
Lorain Co., Ohio—Eugene Balogh, 1.  
Mahoning Co., Ohio—Albert Shipka, 1.  
Marion Co., Ohio—John Burke, 1.  
Masillon, Ohio—John Green, 1.  
Miami, Shelby, Darke Co., Ohio—Arthur Fagan, 1.  
Montgomery Co., Ohio—Joseph Kreutzer, 1.  
Muskingum Co., Ohio—George Turner,  
1. Portage Co., Ohio—Marie Kemmery, 1.  
Portsmouth, Ohio—Wm. R. Staiger, 1.  
Richland, Ohio—James L. Young, 1.  
Sandusky, Ohio—Jack Kroll, 1.  
Sandusky - Ottawa, Ohio—Alfred Lopez,  
1. Stark County, Ohio—W. E. Wycoff, 1.  
Toledo, Ohio—Howard H. Rediger, 1.  
Tri-County, Ohio—Harold E. Knapp, 1.  
Trumbull Co., Ohio—Henry A. Dively, 1.  
Washington Co., Ohio—William V. Lavelle, 1.  
Oklahoma, Okla.—L. A. L'Hoste, 1.  
Tulsa, Okla.—R. H. Rackleff, 1.  
Portland, Oregon—John M. Brast, 1.  
Allegheny Valley, Pa.—John Haser, 1.  
Armstrong Co., Pa.—Francis McCabe, 1.  
Beaver Co., Pa.—Sam Sesti, 1.  
Berks County, Pa.—Edward F. Haas, 1.  
Blair County, Pa.—A. C. Shamas, 1.  
Bucks County, Pa.—Frank F. Flatch, 1.  
Butler Co., Pa.—Michael A. Petrak, 1.  
Chester Co., Pa.—Michael Reach, 1.  
Clearfield Centre Co., Pa.—Julia L. Maietta, 1.  
Crawford County, Pa.—William R. Ewing, 1.  
Delaware Co., Pa.—William R. Roberts,  
1. Erie, Pa.—L. H. Jenkins, 1.  
Harrisburg Region, Pa.—Hugh Carcella,  
1. Greater Johnstown, Pa.—Russell Thomas, 1.  
Greensburg Area, Pa.—Dick W. Rhea, 1.  
Lancaster Co., Pa.—Charles Medrick, 1.  
Lawrence Co., Pa.—George T. Barberio,  
1. Lebanon Co., Pa.—Charles A. Englebach,  
1. Lehigh Co., Pa.—George Nejme, 1.  
Lycoming Co., Pa.—Joseph W. Pesotine,  
1. Mifflin Co., Pa.—Joseph W. Bailey, 1.  
Monongahela Valley, Pa.—Lasick, Frank,  
1. Montgomery Co., Pa.—Quarry, John S., Sr., 1.  
Northampton, Pa.—Moran, William, 1.  
Northumberland, Montour & Snyder Co., Pa.—Bittler, Carl, 1.  
Philadelphia, Pa.—Kelley, Joseph T., 1.  
Scranton-Lackawanna, Pa.—Patrick, Genevieve, 1.  
Shenango County, Pa.—Nicholson, William C., 1.  
Steel City, Pa.—Federoff, Anthony J., 1.  
Tarentum District, Pa.—Schultz, Casmier F., 1.  
Venango Co., Pa.—Atwell, Ross L., 1.  
Wilkes-Barre Area, Pa.—Merolla, Dominic, 1.  
York Co., Pa.—Harris, Lloyd B., 1.  
Greater Charleston, S. C.—Starnes, R. E., 1.  
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Frazier, W. B., 1.  
Knoxville, Tenn.—Derrick, Reece, 1.  
Memphis, Tenn.—Crawder, Earl A., 1.  
Nashville, Tenn.—Ellis, Victor, 1.  
Bexar Co., Texas—Ellinger, W. Don., 1.  
Dallas Area, Texas—Hardesty, A. R., 1.  
Houston Area, Texas—McCarty, Frank,  
1. Sabine Area, Texas—Goldberg, Arthur J., 1.  
Blue Ridge, Va.—Switzer, Silas, 1.  
Richmond, Va.—Binford, Wm. M., 1.  
Roanoke, Va.—Keen, Paul S., 1.  
Tidewater, Va.—Fendleton, James A., 1.  
Grays Harbor, Wash.—Wickre, Julius, 1.  
Seattle-King Co., Wash.—DeShetler, Irwin L., 1.  
Spokane Co., Wash.—Nimz, Earl, 1.  
Tacoma, Wash.—Glenn, John M., 1.  
Cabell Co., W. Virginia—Garner, George L., 1.  
Harrison Co., W. Virginia—DeNucci, George, 1.  
Kanawha Co., W. Virginia—Stanley, Miles C., 1.  
Wheeling Region, W. Virginia—Bussa, Homer, 1.  
Chippewa Valley, Wis.—Rettinger, George, 1.  
Dane Co., Wis.—Haywood, Albert, 1.  
Fond du Lac, Wis.—Stamey, Leon, 1.  
Kenosha Co., Wis.—Maxin, Michael, 1.  
La Crosse Co., Wis.—Davidson, Robert J., 1.  
Milwaukee Co., Wis.—Erechul, Fred A., 1.  
Racine Co., Wis.—Norman, Loren, 1.  
Rock Co., Wis.—Michel, F. J., 1.  
Sheboygan Co., Wis.—Graskamp, Allan,  
1. Waukesha Co., Wis.—Kraus, Eugene, 1.  
Winnebago Co., Wis.—Lamotte, Leo, 1.

#### DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

- 14712, Philadelphia, Pa., 25—Borman, J., 25.  
15293, New York, N. Y., 30—Wolpert, William, 30.  
16303, New York, N. Y., 914—Varrone, Anthony, 914.  
18032, New York, N. Y., 449—Weintraub, Milton, 449.  
18195, Scranton, Pa., 391—Milberger, Helen G., 391.  
18205, New York, N. Y., 409—Lufrano, Louis, 409.  
18267, Cleveland, Ohio, 541—Kozak, Andrew, 541.  
18377, Brockton, Mass., 258—Lavigne, Francis E., 258.  
18456, Kenosha, Wis., 2468—Colby, Howard, 2468.  
18527, Chicago, Ill., 210—Disselhorst, Lewis Earl, 210.  
18558, La Crosse, Wis., 1688—Ferris, Darrel, 1688.  
18579, Rochester, N. Y., 600—Stockmaster, Erwin, 600.  
18671, Cleveland, Ohio, 233—McCourt, William E., 233.  
18887, Philadelphia, Pa., 1947—Dever, Alex L., 1947.

- 18919, Hartford, Conn., 578—Camarco, Rido, 578.  
 19322, Kenosha, Wis., 1,111—Madison, John H., 1,111.  
 19340, Milwaukee, Wis., 343—Norbeck, W. J., 343.  
 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass., 659—Ricardi, Nello P., 659.  
 19635, Muskegon, Mich., 695—Hansen, Ove Harry, 695.  
 19806, Milwaukee, Wis., 4,868—Le Clair, Wilbur, 4,868.  
 19981, Bellefonte, Pa., 955—Dolan, Harold, 955.  
 19985, Kenosha, Wis., 107—Ruffolo, Anthony, 107.  
 20037, Crockett, Calif., 1,216—Cooper, Charles Francis, 1,216.  
 20186, Barberton, Ohio, 2,805—Sepelak, George F., 2,805.  
 20311, (521 votes), 24,768 (77 votes), Dayton, Ohio, 598—Butts, Robert, A., 598.  
 20467, Chicago, Ill., 613—Dorfman, Paul J., 613.  
 20499, New York, N. Y., 674—Daubman, Robert, 674.  
 20538, Auburn, N. Y., 441—Tuleya, Anna, 441.  
 20567, Malden, Mass., 271—Bishop, Thomas F., 271.  
 20572, Toledo, Ohio, 482—Tucker, Earl, 482.  
 20582, Springfield, Mass., 140—Maciolek, Michael, 140.  
 20665, Baltimore, Md., 106—Johns, Edward H., 106.  
 20711, St. Louis, Mo., 16—Rubin, Maury E., 16.  
 20890, Geneva, N. Y., 263—Amidon, Theodore, 263.  
 20909, Rochester, N. Y., 168—Harber, Elwood, 168.  
 21108, Hagerstown, Md., 306—Norris, James, 306.  
 21479, (230 votes), 21480, (205 votes), Toronto, Ont., Can., 435—Federman, Max, 435.  
 21481, (59 votes), Toronto, Ont., Can., 59—Litvack, Al, 59.  
 21538, Blackwell, Okla., 869—Campbell, O. C., 869.  
 21625, New York, N. Y., 1,330—Silverman, Herman, 1,330.  
 21664, Syracuse, N. Y., 235—Galuski, Frank, 235.  
 21877, Chicago, Ill., 20—Klass, Irwin E., 20.  
 21914, Watertown, Mass., 4,484—Perco, Salvatore A., 4,484.  
 21920, Newark, N. J., 265—Santos, William Serle, 265.  
 22006, Hamlin, N. Y., 634—Le Storti, James, 634.  
 22095, Cleveland, Ohio, 92—Shapiro, Simon, 92.  
 22177, Detroit, Mich., 2,429—Del Campo, Albert, 2,429.  
 22254, Philadelphia, Pa., 1,382—Murphy, Eugene, 1,382.  
 22454, New Orleans, La., 369—Babin, Claude F., 369.  
 22328, Knoxville, Tenn., 167—Frye, Conley P., 167.  
 22543, Springfield, Ohio, 86—Jones, Betty M., 86.  
 22614, Moundsville, W. Va., 201—Mills, Charles, 201.  
 22623, Philadelphia, Pa., 1,795—Capitol, Domenic, 1,795.  
 22625, Ashland, Ohio, 197—Stackhouse, David, 197.  
 22636, East Chicago, Ind., 1,843—Longo, Adolph J., 1,843.  
 22631, Milwaukee, Wis., 2,442—Greub, Alfred H., 2,442.  
 22694, Brockton, Mass., 381—Picone, Joseph A., 381.  
 22804, Springfield, Mass., 714—Sledziewski, Joseph, 714.  
 22812, Canton, Mass., 645—Darling, Joseph, 645.  
 23132, Passaic, N. J., 655—Truatt, Frank, 655.  
 23160, Balboa, C. Z., 48—Price, William M., 48.  
 23221, Alton, Ill., 25—McCormick, Paul R., 25.  
 23293, New York, N. Y., 516—Powers, Thomas, 516.  
 23433, Gowanda, N. Y., 222—Badurek, Joseph, 222.  
 23478, Canandaigua, N. Y., 268—Manganaro, Sam, 268.  
 23516, Niagara Falls, N. Y., 194—Gozdowiak, Henry, 194.  
 23628, Chicago, Ill., 217, Summerfield, Le Roy L., 217.  
 23640, Princeton, Ind., 107—De Bord, James L., 107.  
 23773, Dayton, Ohio, 11—Anderson, James R., 11.  
 23823, Newark, Ohio, 278—Johnson, Derrell, 278.  
 23843, St. Paul, Minn., 15—Groner, L. E., 15.  
 23866, Cleveland, Ohio, 170—Porlic, Thomas J., 170.  
 23908, Montreal, Que., Can., 579—Vincette, Victor, 579.  
 23942, Lowell, Mass., 40—Ahearn, Thomas P., 40.  
 23981, Albany, N. Y., 235—Gulio, Frank, 235.  
 23983, Syracuse, N. Y., 3,423—Stevenson, Wilfred, 3,423.  
 23985, Hagerstown, Md., 12—Butler, Elbert W., 12.  
 24031, Worcester, Mass., 246—Dugan, Leo G., 246.  
 24058, Lawrence, Mass., 45—Havey, John J., 45.  
 24111, Milwaukee, Wis., 14—Taylor, Ray W., 14.  
 24115, Philadelphia, Pa., 83—Czaplicki, John, 83.  
 24215, Winter Haven, Fla., 626—Pate, J. C., 626.  
 24387, Cleveland, Ohio, 419—Paukner, Otto J., 419.  
 24410, Leadville, Colo., 1,120—Larch, Jess A., 1,120.  
 24428, Evansville, Ind., 461—Hartig, Theodore L., 461.  
 24472, Torrington, Conn., 223—Hohnke, Eric, 223.  
 24659, Rochester, N. Y., 583—Webb, Daniel R., 583.  
 24760, Bridgeport, Conn., 701—Burns, James F., 701.  
 24779, Buffalo, N. Y., 86—Wismar, Arthur H., 86.  
 24787, Waukegan, Ill., 126—Foxworth, Charles E., 126.  
 24932, Olean, N. Y., 199—Brown, Charles, 199.  
 24866, Washington, D. C., 22—Stanley, Mrs. Lee, 22.  
 24910, New York, N. Y., 1,383—McDonough, Patrick A., 1,383.  
 24928, Ponce, P. R., 50—Grant, Pedro A., 50.  
 24935, Gary, Ind., 20—Kuckson, Edmund C., 20.

## LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

72, Amalgamated Office Workers, Detroit, Mich., 485—Averill, D. Elizabeth, 485.  
 83, Un. Dairy Wkrs., Detroit, Mich., 4,812—Stoner, Ralph F., 4,812.  
 255, Un. Theater Emps., Clarksburg, W. Va., 6—McPeak, Carl A., 6.  
 520, Printing & Paper Trades, Philadelphia, Pa., 701—McCaffrey, James, 701.  
 677, Un. Publication Workers, Brooklyn, New York, 91—Blumstein, Samuel, 91.  
 798, Un. Bakery Wkrs., McKeesport, Pa., 92—Brophy, John, 92.  
 917, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Sugarland, Texas, 547—Walker, Knox W., 547.  
 934, Un. Pencil Wkrs., New York, N. Y., 589—Beardwood, James F., 589.  
 984, Un. Foremen & Supervisors, La Crosse, Wis., 59—Flannery, Robert G., 59.  
 1162, Un. Motion Picture Employees, Lamarque, Texas, 5—Allen, Carlin, 5.  
 1242, Un. Slag Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa., 159—Craig, George, 159.  
 1279, Un. Scrap & Salvage & Waste Material Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa., 103—Sanguigni, Samuel, 103.  
 1308, Local Industrial Union, Flint, Mich., 95—Finnin, Lawrence, 95.  
 1420, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Mathews, La., 207—Farr, George, 207.  
 1422, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Labadieville, La., 282—Pelet, Henry, 282.  
 1474, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Raceland, La., 102—Barranco, Charles, 102.  
 1475, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Montegut, La., 30—Riffe, John V., 30.  
 1525, Un. Construction Wkrs., South Bend, Ind., 30—Louis, James G., 30.  
 1645, Roosevelt College Office Employees, Chicago, Ill., 70—White, Leland A., 70.  
 1660, Un. Sugar Refinery Wkrs., So. Boston, Mass., 571—Hutton, Richard, 571.  
 1670, CWA-CIO Office Wkrs., Washington, D. C., 22—Schaar, Walter, 22.  
 1686, Un. Clerical Wkrs., South Bend, Ind., 22—Colwell, George, 22.  
 1693, Un. Office Employees, Cincinnati, Ohio, 15—Shy, Arthur, 15.  
 1694, Un. Bank Employees, New York, N. Y., 38—Titone, John, 38.  
 1695, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C., 95—Moran, Thomas P., 95.  
 1699, Un. Office Employees, Portland, Ore., 24—Dusten, Chester, 24.  
 1700, Un. Office Wkrs., Columbus, Ohio, 38—Rooney, John R., 38.  
 1705, Local Industrial Union, White-water, Wis., 73—Murray, Tom, 73.  
 1719, Un. Office & Clerical Workers, Flint, Mich., 50—Frazer, Douglas A., 50.  
 1727, Un. Office Wkrs., Akron, Ohio, 54—Burla, Beulah M., 54.  
 1729, Office Workers, Los Angeles, Calif., 47—Yuster, Sylvia A., 47.  
 1733, Community & Social Agency Employees, Oakland, Calif., 53—Despol, John, 53.  
 1736, Federation Engineers, Chemists & Technicians, Philadelphia, Pa., 23—Gar-rison, Oral L., 23.  
 1738, Un. Office Employees, Milwaukee, Wis., 32—Graham, Sylvester, 32.  
 1746, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C., 22—Rubin, Eve, 22.  
 1752, Consolidated Services & Car Drivers, St. Louis, Mo., 91—Ryan, Arlanda, 91.

1771, Warehousemen and Drivers, Lincoln, Neb., 66—Oliver, Robert, 66.  
 1772, Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Long Island City, N. Y., 113—Rosenkrantz, John, 113.  
 1777, Duluth Fur Wkrs., Duluth, Minn., 26—Cuniff, John, 26.  
 1779, Un. Office Wkrs., Richmond, Va., 67—DuCunnois, T. D., 67.  
 1782, Office Employees, Grand Rapids, Mich., 15—Sherwood, Lillian, 15.  
 1788, CWA Office Employees, Dallas, Texas, 11—Starnes, R. W., 11.  
 1793, Un. Publishing Emp., New York, N. Y., 49—Mann, Michael, 49.  
 1794, Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio, 31—Eiben, Louis, 31.  
 1805, Amalgamated Office Workers, Indianapolis, Ind., 28—Widman, William J., 28.  
 1806, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Waterbury, Conn., 21—Belcinski, Mary, 21.  
 1811, Un. Bay Area Office Wkrs., San Francisco, Calif., 12—Clark, Robert, 12.  
 1812, Virgin Islands Labor Union, St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A., 30—King, Austin C., 30.  
 1813, Federation of Shorthand Reporters, New York, N. Y., 45—Davidson, Jean, 45.  
 1814, CIO Sabine Area, Port Arthur, Texas, 157, Dutton, Mrs. R. Z., 157.  
 1821, Alaska Fishermen's Un., Seattle 11, Wash., Smith, William J., 11.

... The report of the Credentials Committee made in behalf of the Joint Labor Unity Committee was adopted unanimously ...

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: At this time it is my privilege to recognize the youngest member of the Unity Subcommittee, the brother with whom I have had the privilege of being associated in the leadership of CIO. He made a great contribution in the work of the subcommittee in working out the many knotty problems.

You know, it seems that the Irish do pretty well inside the American labor movement, and this is another Irishman. I am very privileged at this time to call upon the President of the IUE, my good friend Jim Carey, for the purpose of reporting on the Call to the Convention. Then, following that, the Rules by which the Convention will be conducted—Brother Carey.

## CONVENTION CALL

... Delegate Carey read the Convention Call as follows:  
 Greetings:

On February 9, 1955, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee signed an agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In doing so, the Committee expressed the belief that the adoption of the agreement will bring about honorable, organic labor unity. It will contribute to the strength and effectiveness of the trade union movement and to the economic well-being of working men and women throughout the land. It will realize a long-cherished goal. This agreement was subsequently approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive



Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A proposed constitution for the merged federation, which shall be known as the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," has been prepared and will be recommended for convention approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have been called to meet in New York City, N. Y., on December 1, 1955, at which time the merger agreement and the proposed constitution will be submitted for approval.

The preamble of this proposed constitution sets forth the basic purposes of the merged federation:

"The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

"We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

"At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

"We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the bases of our democratic society.

"We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

"Grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution."

The merger agreement and the proposed constitution authorize the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee to call the First Constitutional Convention of the merged organization.

Therefore you are hereby notified, subject to approval of the merger agreement and the proposed constitution by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, that the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will be held at the 71st Regimental

Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, commencing at 10 a. m. Monday, December 5, 1955, to adopt such policies and take such actions as may be necessary or appropriate to carry on the functions and to effectuate the object and principles of the organization.

For the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee

WALTER F. REUTHER

President

Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY

President

American Federation of Labor

JAMES B. CAREY

Secretary-Treasurer

Congress of Industrial Organizations

WILLIAM SCHNITZLER

Secretary-Treasurer

American Federation of Labor

## CONSTITUTION

Article XIX of the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, as approved and recommended by the Executive Council of the AFL and the Executive Board of the CIO, provides that the constitution and merger agreement between the AFL and CIO "shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation."

## DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION

Article XIX, Section 3, of the proposed constitution provides as follows:

"The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number."

Article IV, Section 4, of the proposed constitution provides as follows:

"Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Less than 4,000 members....	1 delegate
Over 4,000 members.....	2 delegates
Over 8,000 members.....	3 delegates
Over 12,000 members.....	4 delegates
Over 25,000 members.....	5 delegates
Over 50,000 members.....	6 delegates
Over 75,000 members.....	7 delegates
Over 125,000 members.....	8 delegates
Over 175,000 members.....	9 delegates

Plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 over 175,000 members.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions."

**NOTE:** Since the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is empowered to accredit to this convention all delegates who have been duly accredited to the separate AFL and CIO conventions to be held on December 1, 1955, it will not be necessary for affiliated organizations to separately select such delegates as delegates to the merged convention. Certain national and international unions, however, are entitled under Article IV, Section 4, of the constitution of the merged organizations to send more delegates to this convention than they are entitled to send to the separate December 1 conventions. Such organizations may select a sufficient number of additional delegates to bring their delegations up to the size indicated in Article IV, Section 4, of the constitution of the merged organization. The names of such additional delegates should be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation to which such organization is affiliated. The Secretary-Treasurer of the respective Federations will submit these names to the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee as the Credentials Committee for the Convention.

Note that the number of delegates sent by any affiliated organization does not affect the voting strength of the delegation as a whole.

### VOTING STRENGTH OF DELEGATES

Article XIX, Section 4, of the proposed constitution provides that:

"Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote."

### ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Article XIX, Section 5, of the proposed constitution provides that:

"The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become necessary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention Call be inscribed in the official records of this First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

### RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** Brother Carey will now report on the Rules and Order of Business.

### REPORT OF JOINT AFL-CIO UNITY COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Carey submitted the following report on behalf of the Unity Committee:

Pursuant to Section 5 of Article XIX of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee recommends that the following rules and order of business be adopted by the first constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO:

**Rule 1.** The Convention shall be called to order daily at 9:30 a. m. and adjourn at 12:30 p. m.; reconvene at 2 p. m. and adjourn at 5:30 p. m.

**Rule 2.** If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

**Rule 3.** No delegate shall speak more than once on the same question until all who desire to speak on that question shall have been heard, nor more than twice on the same question except by consent of the majority. Speeches shall be limited to 10 minutes except by consent of the majority.

**Rule 4.** Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

**Rule 5.** When a motion to table is made the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the original motion is given an opportunity to speak on the question.

**Rule 6.** No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

**Rule 7.** A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

**Rule 8.** A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order. When such a motion is made and amendments are pending to the original motion before the convention, the motion to table shall apply to the amendment or amendments, and it shall require a new motion to table the original motion.

**Rule 9.** A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained; unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority on the original question, and shall require a majority vote.

**Rule 10.** No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has been given an opportunity to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

**Rule 11.** A roll call on any question before the convention shall be called



upon the request of 30% of the delegates present.

**Rule 12.** When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

**Rule 13.** When a roll call has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

**Rule 14.** The convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order on all matters not herein provided for.

**Rule 15.** The regular order of business for the first convention of the AFL-CIO shall be as follows:

1. Report on credentials submitted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee.
2. Approval of rules and order of business submitted by Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee.
3. Report of Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee and submission of resolution ratifying and confirming the achievement of labor unity.
4. Election of officers.
5. Report of Resolutions Committee.
6. Adjournment.

**DELEGATE CAREY:** Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Joint Unity Committee, I move the adoption of the rules of this convention.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** You have heard the reading of the Rules and Order of Business, and the motion is to adopt. Is there support?

... The motion was supported.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** Are there any questions? If not, all those in favor of adopting the Rules and Order of Business signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered, and the rules are adopted. They will govern the proceedings of this convention.

I now have the privilege of calling upon another member of the Unity Subcommittee, a brother who made a great major contribution to the work of our committee, participated in the many long hours and many days in working out a thousand and one details related to this problem. I am very proud to call upon my good friend, the President of the United Steelworkers Union, Brother Dave McDonald, who will report on labor unity for the Unity Committee. Brother McDonald.

# **REPORT OF THE JOINT AFL-CIO UNITY COMMITTEE TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**DELEGATE McDONALD:** Mr. Chairman and delegates, you cannot imagine the feeling of pride that I have in be-

ing privileged to make this report of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. I was there in '35 when we separated, and I am more than delighted to have played a small role in bringing about organic unity.

This report reads:

On behalf of more than 15 million organized working men and women in America, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is pleased to report to this First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that honorable organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is a reality.

On December 1, 1955, the convention of the American Federation of Labor and on December 2, 1955, the convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations individually passed identical resolutions approving the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement, and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. In so doing, they ratified the final steps toward labor unity. The opening of this convention of the AFL-CIO this morning made effective the unity resolutions previously passed by the American Federation of Labor and by the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

This report is made to you in accordance with the provisions of Section 5, Article XIX, of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. It sets forth, in briefest outline, the steps by which unity was achieved.

Fundamentally, labor unity is the product of the spirit, the will, the sense of determination of these two organizations and their members. It is the product of their firm conviction that disunity was an obstacle to further progress for labor and the nation. It is a dynamic monument to the vision, the statesmanship, the trust of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of the affiliates of the two federations, their leaders and members. Together they have written a noble chapter in the history of labor in America.

The road to unity was long and often difficult. The obstacles were many and formidable. But good faith and a widespread yearning for a single, united labor movement overcame these obstacles.

The first milestone along the road to unity was the negotiation and ratification, in 1953 and 1954, of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. This agreement substantially reduced disputes between signatory affiliates of the two federations. It constituted a first and essential prerequisite toward further progress toward unity. Initially accepted by this Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, the agreement was thereafter approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and subsequently by the respective conventions of these two federations. More recently it has been extended for a further term

as provided for in the Merger Agreement.

The second, tremendously important product of the spirit of unity was the approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Agreement for Merger, which had been reached by this Joint Unity Committee on February 9, 1955. At the time this Agreement was reached, President Meany of the American Federation of Labor and President Reuther of the Congress of Industrial Organizations jointly stated:

"The agreement reached today by the AFL and CIO Unity Committee sets the course for the attainment of a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a united trade union movement.

"This agreement—if accepted by the executive bodies of our two organizations, as we hope and expect—will mark the end of the division in the free trade union movement of our country that has existed for almost 20 years.

"It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater service to the people of the United States.

"At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Communist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free institutions, and toward the development of full employment and greater security for all the people.

"We pledge that, as unity develops, labor in America will place itself at the service of the American public; and will, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger free world."

"We feel confident that merger of the two union groups, which we represent, will be a boom to our nation and its people in this tense period. We are happy that, in our way, we have been able to help bring about unity of the American labor movement at a time when unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization."

The members of this Committee confirm and reiterate these views.

The next step toward unity was the drafting and approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Constitution under which this Federation will function, and of the Implementation Agreement.

The final step that brought this AFL-CIO into being was the action taken by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in approving the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity.

The basic documents representing each of these steps toward unity are attached to this Report:

- A. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement
- B. The Memorandum of Understanding Supplementing the No-Raiding Agreement
- C. Instrument of Extension and Amendment of the No-Raiding Agreement
- D. The Agreement for Merger
- E. The AFL-CIO Constitution
- F. Implementation Agreement
- G. Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity.

And so today we meet as a single body of labor, united not only in form but in a singleness of purpose and spirit. United, we are a more effective instrumentality for the national good. We have the magnificent opportunity through unity to build to new heights our democratic, responsible, united labor movement. Our AFL-CIO is based upon a full recognition and acceptance of the inherent dignity of the human personality; we are dedicated to the building of a better future for the people of our nation and for a stronger free world.

When this convention is concluded we of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee will have completed the immediate task entrusted to us. We have, throughout, been deeply conscious of the grave and historic responsibility entrusted to us. We have sought to discharge that responsibility honorably and conscientiously. We believe that the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations together have provided a foundation upon which can be built a strong, democratic and responsible united labor movement.

The achievement of this objective is in your hands. We know that the leadership of the AFL-CIO will rest in capable and effective men. We have complete confidence in the devotion and loyalty of the membership to the principles of free and democratic trade unionism enumerated in the constitution that has been adopted. We of the AFL-CIO, invoking divine guidance and mindful of the traditions of our past, look with assurance to meeting the challenge of the future.

The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee concludes its report by proposing the following resolution confirming and ratifying the achievement of labor unity:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That this initial constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations confirms and ratifies the action of the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in ratifying, approving and adopting the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity, the Agreement for Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

Respectfully submitted,  
WALTER F. REUTHER  
JAMES B. CAREY  
GEORGE MEANY  
WILLIAM SCHNITZLER

For the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee

Mr. Chairman, I move approval of this report and adoption of the resolution which, upon adoption, will unite us and make us one.

**CHAIRMAN REUTHER:** Thank you, Brother McDonald. You now have before you the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity. Is there support?

It has been supported. Are there any questions?

All those in favor of adopting the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity will please stand.

All those in opposition to the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity will please stand.

The Chair is proud to declare that the resolution has been adopted by the unanimous action of this great Convention.

(Applause)

I am now privileged to yield the Chair once again to the President of the Brick Layers Union, Harry Bates.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** The regular order of business before the Convention at this time is the election of the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Nominations are in order and the Chair recognizes Delegate Schoemann of the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union.

**DELEGATE SCHOEMANN:** Mr. Chairman, President Meany, President Reuther, distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen:

It has always been a custom and tradition not only of the American Federation of Labor but at conventions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and at conventions of international and national unions that a delegate from the union of which the proposed nominee is a member would place the name of that nominee before the convention.

This has been a custom respected and rigidly adhered to within the framework of the old American Federation of Labor. This is the first convention of the new AFL-CIO Federation. A new home for labor is in the progress of construction. The foundation for this new home of labor is being constructed by this first convention. The foundation of this new home of labor is built on the need and desire for unity, peace and concord among the great international and national unions comprising the American labor movement.

There are many mansions and many diverse and conflicting houses that will be housed within this new home of labor. We will build the structure on this foundation by virtue of the mutual respect and tolerance that each member of this new house of labor will have for the problems and interests of each affiliated union.

So, that within this new house of labor the two great bodies of the labor movement of America will each work side by side to create such a strong structure that no man can destroy it. Because we all know that in every home there must be unity and harmony if peace is to prevail.

As a first step in rearing the structure for this new house of labor where we are today building the foundation and in the interests of building this foundation in the spirit of unity and harmony, as the General President of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, I now yield and relinquish the floor to Brother Walter Reuther, the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and give to him the first honor and the first place on the floor of this convention to lay the first brick in this new house of labor so that, in turn, we all may follow and build a permanent and enduring structure.

**DELEGATE REUTHER:** Thank you, my very good friend, Pete Schoemann.

This is indeed one of the happiest moments of my life when I rise before this convention to place in nomination the name of a great man to lead in the building of this greater labor movement.

I am going to say a lot of wonderful things about this man because I believe them deep down in my heart. There is only one thing that I want to say that I am unsure of. I have been advised by Pete Schoemann that my candidate is a good plumber, but I have no personal knowledge of that. All of the other things that I shall attribute to him are things of which I have first-hand and personal knowledge.

He is a great trade unionist. He is a great American and a great leader. He is a man out of the ranks of labor and he knows the problems and the needs of the average American working family. He understands their hopes and their aspirations and their dreams. His capacity as a leader was recognized early, and he rose steadily through his own union, through the State Federation of the State of New York, and then finally he was chosen as the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and then advanced to its highest office, the Presidency.

Through years of dedicated service he has won the loyalty and the respect and friendship of millions of workers throughout our great country. He is a man with great courage and deep conviction, a man of intelligence, a man of courage and integrity. He loves justice, but he hates injustice and all forms of tyranny. He has been the strong and clear voice speaking out against racial intolerance and discrimination in our national life. He has been the voice warning labor that it must clear its house of corruption and those who would compromise the ethical and moral values which have symbolized the greatness of our free labor movement. He has made an outstanding contribution not only in America, but in the world labor movement. He has served as a Vice President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and in that capacity has made a great contribution mobilizing forces of the free world in the struggle against the evil, ugly and immoral forces of communist tyranny. He was among the earliest voices in the ranks of labor urging unity, making it understood that no one should have a vested

interest in division and disunity. He understood from the very beginning that the whole labor movement transcends in importance the interests of any section of the labor movement, even though it may be your own section. He believed within the family of a united labor movement there could be worked out a proper, harmonious and constructive relationship between both craft and industrial unions, both being recognized as equal and necessary, both having a great deal more in common than they have in conflict.

During the many meetings of the Unity Committee his was a voice of wise counsel, patience and understanding. And therefore, it was logical that, when we got to that place in our discussions that we talked about who should lead this new labor movement, his name was obviously, universally and with great enthusiasm chosen.

He is a man of good will, a man of good faith; a man of deep religious convictions. He has faith in his God, faith in his fellow man and faith in the cause of organized labor.

I am confident that he will guide this movement of ours with a steady hand, but with a sensitive heart, with understanding, for he, too, knows that power without morality, power untethered by humility breeds great dangers. And he will wield the power that he will have as the president of the largest free trade union in the world. He will wield that in the interest of people, in the interest of advancing basic democracy and human values that we say free people cherish.

I am confident that we can all leave here on the concluding day of this convention, sure in our hearts that our union is in good hands, in the able hands of the man who will lead us to great achievements, who will write this, the most glorious chapter in the history of organized labor.

It is a great personal privilege and high honor to have the opportunity of placing in nomination for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that great American, that great trade unionist, a man I consider a great and wonderful personal friend, George Meany.

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** The name of George Meany has been placed in nomination. The Chair will recognize Pete Schoemann for the purpose of seconding the nomination because of his kindness in yielding the privilege of nominating Brother Meany to Brother Reuther.

**DELEGATE SCHOEMANN:** Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters: I stand humbly before you today in seconding the nomination of the keystone of this great organization, and I am not going to take many moments of your valuable time other than to say that I believe that he will become the keystone, the bulwark of strength that is going to become necessary in the turbulent days that lie before us.

As I stand here in seconding this nomination of one of the great members of the United Association, one who has worked hard to bring our organization to its present stature, it is with a great

deal of pleasure and honor that I second this nomination.

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** Brother Meany's nomination has been seconded by Peter Schoemann.

It has been a custom in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for a great number of years to present the President of the New York State Federation of Labor to second the nomination of Brother Meany, and now at this time I call on Tom Murray, President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE MURRAY:** Mr. Chairman, I want to express my personal appreciation and that of the New York State Federation of Labor for the privilege and honor accorded me on this most historic occasion to second the nomination of George Meany, a former President of the New York State Federation of Labor who, during his tenure of office, was largely instrumental in placing upon the statute books of New York State the beneficial legislation the working people of the State are now enjoying.

As Secretary-Treasurer and President of the American Federation of Labor, he went on to distinguish himself as the world's greatest labor statesman.

It is my great honor, in behalf of the membership of the New York State Federation of Labor, to second the nomination of George Meany, the world's symbol of free unionism, for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. I thank you.

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** Is there any other nomination? If there are no other nominations, I will call upon George Harrison.

**DELEGATE HARRISON,** Brotherhood of Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman, I move that the nominations be closed and that the temporary Chairman be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the delegates to this Convention for the election of George Meany to the high and honorable office of President.

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** You have heard the motion. All in favor of the motion vote aye. All opposed, no.

It is carried unanimously.

**DELEGATE SCHNITZLER:** Chairman Bates, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for George Meany for the position of President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the ensuing term.

**CHAIRMAN BATES:** And I declare George Meany duly elected as President of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the ensuing term.

President Meany, I deem it a great honor and privilege to present to you this gavel. I know that you will conduct the affairs of this great organization with credit and honor to yourself and to the interests of the 15,000,000 members of the organization, and to the country as a whole. I wish you every success in your future endeavors.

## PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY

Thank you, Harry.

Chairman Bates, President Reuther, representatives of the organizations which have joined here today, the Executive Board of the CIO, Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and delegates in attendance at this most important Convention:

I feel that this is the most important trade union development of our time. Whether we deserve the attention or not, I am quite sure the eyes of workers all over the world are on this meeting this morning. Millions of workers, millions of ordinary people behind the Iron Curtain of despotism and degradation are looking towards us this morning with eyes of hope. Many millions more who live in the shadow of that curtain of inequity are, I am sure, praying for the success of this organization which we are bringing into being today.

I can readily understand the feeling of elation which I sense present here today among the delegates and surely among the officers over the end of these years of division and of the inauguration of this new united movement. I, too, share that feeling of elation that we have come this far along the road to unity for all labor in America. But when I think of the opportunities that lie ahead and of the tremendous responsibilities that go with those opportunities I give way to some sober thought as to our obligation to meet the test, not only of grasping these opportunities for moving forward, but also of removing the obstacles and solving the problems that will lie in our path of meeting the test of great responsibility that goes with an organization of 15,000,000 citizens in a nation of 160,000,000 people.

I think in approaching this task we should take a serious and good look at ourselves to make sure that we know just what are our obligations and to make sure that we have the type of organization that can meet these obstacles and grasp these opportunities to better the day both in the life and work of the great mass of the workers of this nation. We must think in terms of the true meaning of a trade union movement, a movement that has for its sole, definite and single purpose the advancement of the welfare and interest of the great mass of workers who are part of this movement.

That must be the motivating influence and manner in which we move forward. Let all of our actions be keyed into that simple, plain principle that a trade union has no other reason for existence than the job of carrying out and carrying forward and advancing the interests and welfare of its members.

In building and advancing the cause of our Union let us not think in terms of personal prestige, of having a big union for the sake of having a big union. Let us not think in terms of a great big financial structure and of great power. Let us think in terms of the simple philosophy of those who founded this movement to advance the cause of workers.

As we go forward together in this

movement, let us stop thinking in terms of prior labels. Let us make up our minds that from this moment on there is just one label on all the organizations and all of the membership of this great organization, and that label is AFL-CIO and nothing else. Let us apply this philosophy in terms of good faith, determination to live together, to work together, and to think together for one united organization.

We have brought into being this morning a trade union instrumentality to carry on the work we have all been engaged in and to do it a little better, we feel, than we were able to do as a divided movement. We have a Constitution that we worked on for many, many long weeks. We make no claim as to its perfection, but we do feel that it is an instrument under which we can live and that it carries with it the principles we have always had in this movement, in this country, of complete and absolute autonomy for each and every organization to run its own affairs. It contains the voluntary principle upon which our movement was founded in the early days.

It was once said many years ago that government is best which governs least. It is in that spirit we wrote this Constitution. After all, we are practical enough to realize that the words in the Constitution would not have very much meaning if we did not enter into the work of this organization in a spirit of mutual respect, in a spirit of cooperation and in a spirit dedicated to the principle that unions are created for the benefit of the workers who toil for wages.

We must grow, this trade union movement, with the nation, but we must grow in a right way. Let us organize the unorganized. Let us not waste our time and our efforts trying to reorganize those who are already organized.

Let us try to bring the blessings and benefits which we know are inherent in a trade union movement to the millions of those who are still unorganized.

As we face the future this morning where there is a great spirit, as I said before, of elation and happiness, we should give some sober thought to the kind of world we live in, to the problems we have at home and the problems we have abroad, to the problems we face in the new industrial age which is coming upon us, to the problems that have been ever present in the conduct of the relations of our country with the other nations of the world.

Let us understand that despite the many advances, despite the great achievements of the organized labor movement over the years, we still have those who believe we would be better off without unions; those who believe in the archaic traditions of the 1880's and 1890's; those who believe that America is built from the top down, that if you keep the great corporations fat and wealthy enough will trickle down to keep those at the lower level of our economic structure happy and contented. We still have this opposition, and this opposition has made its mark in the last seven or eight years. We would be less than truthful if we did not admit to ourselves that the legislative trend insofar as liberal and



remedial legislation is concerned, legislation in which we have a vital interest, that legislative trend in the last eight years has been backward and not forward. And it is up to us, using every weapon we have at our command under the Constitution of this country, using every method that is legal to advance the cause of the workers, to reverse that trend.

We have come a long way in building up the standard of life and of work with the people of this great nation, but we can't say that we have come all the way. We can't afford to look back for any other reason except to draw from the experiences of the past in order to apply their lessons to move forward in the future. We have no right to look back with a feeling of satisfaction, because there is still much to be done. We still need better schools and more schools for the children of America. We hear from time to time the great orators of our political parties, especially during the season of the year when the schools are graduating their children, about America's greatest possession, the future of America, the children of America. And we are still in the disgraceful position where we cannot say that we have adequate facilities to train and educate those children. And we have to wipe out the idea that this is the job of each and every little community, no matter what its economic or financial position might be. If the children of America are the nation's wealth of the future, if they are our proudest possession, then they are the concern of the entire nation, and the nation itself should take a hand through Federal Aid to Education to see that we have good schools.

Then we have housing which is still a problem. Yes, we have made some forward strides, but we still have a long way to go. We still have thousands and thousands of people who are living in slums, who have not as yet received the full benefits of which we like to boast, the great and high standard of life that we have here in our American Continent.

We need better roads. We need to improve our social security system. We need to bring about a system of medical care that will take care of the health of the nation as a whole. These problems must be met.

Then we have the problem that strikes right home, the problem of preserving the right of workers to improve their conditions through the instrumentality of a trade union, the problem of seeing to it that the Labor-Management Act on our statute books is made fair to both labor and management, and not an instrument by which management, if it will, can destroy or hamper the development of which we have to amend that Act and we have to wipe off the statute books of 18 States the so-called right-to-work laws which are laws destructive of the rights of union workers.

Then we must think soberly of our position as a nation and of the things we like to feel are really in the tradition of America. We speak of our freedom, we speak of the Founding Fathers, we speak of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. I think we have some right to be proud of those things,

to be proud of our tradition and our heritage; but I think we have no right to complacently sit by as long as those rights are denied to any portion of the population of this great country.

We have had striking evidence in the last few days, if we needed any such evidence, that the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights and the civil liberties that we all like to boast of do not prevail in certain parts of our country for people whose skin is a little different in color than that of ourselves. We have men who call themselves statesmen, who are public servants elected by the people, and still who, in the interest of white supremacy, defy a decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to desegregation. Yes, they are amending the Constitution to suit themselves insofar as its application is concerned, and what they are saying in effect is that this Constitution does not prevail in the Southland.

I say to these people, a good many of whom call themselves Christians, that when they go to church on Sunday they should remember that the words "and thy neighbor as thyself" are still an integral part of the Ten Commandments, and they should apply that in dealing with their fellowmen.

Then we have to give some sober thought today to our duties as citizens, taking our place in the community life of the nation, making our contribution to good government, making our contribution as citizens to the policies of our Government in dealing with other nations of the world.

In my book, labor not only has a right to raise its voice in regard to the policies under which our Federal Government is administered, but we have a duty as citizens to take part in shaping the policies of our Government; and as workers we have a special interest in the foreign policy of our Government. We have a special interest in seeing to it that our Government makes its full contribution to the preservation of human freedom everywhere on this earth where it is possible to make a contribution.

A free trade union requires an atmosphere of freedom, and we have long ago learned in this shrinking world of ours that the enslavement of workers anywhere, the denial of the right of workers to have free trade unions anywhere, is a threat to free labor everywhere, which includes the United States of America. And we know where the major threat comes to world freedom. We don't have to be diplomatic in analyzing this question. We don't have to deceive ourselves. We can call the shots as we see them. We have no commercial, political or financial reason to see peace where there is no peace. We have been meeting this cold war situation for many years, beginning with the Truman Plan in 1946, the Marshall Plan, NATO, Point 4, and, I think up until this spring, meeting it quite successfully.

Then of course we run into the new "smiling face" technique of those who would destroy us and destroy every right that we hold dear. At the conclusion of the Summit Conference in July we were told that it was a great success, the spirit of Geneva had less-

ened tensions and everything was going to be fine. We were told that by the heads of our Government. I say to you here today when we were told that, the American people were hoodwinked. It was not a success; I wish to God it were.

The American people were fooled, if you please, and told that tensions were lessened, and everything was going to be all right. We were told that we should now shake the hands of those who would deny us our freedom, those who would destroy us. We were told that tensions would be lessened.

Well, I can say personally I have searched with painstaking care for these lessened tensions. What do I find in that search? I find the same old line, a new threat in the blockade of Berlin, attempting to throw those people into the Godless ideology of Communism by saying that East Berlin is no longer under the Four-Power rule, that it is under the rule of their so-called satellite state, the so-called East German democratic government.

As a contribution to these lessened tensions we see Egypt armed by a Communist satellite for attack. Then we see the tour of slander, where the top people representing the Soviet Union are using India as a sounding board for their attacks upon the free nations of the world.

Then we see the Foreign Ministers conference five weeks ago, which was supposed to carry out and implement the agreements reached at Geneva in July. There we see a complete repudiation of everything that was done at the July high level conference.

Then we see the stepped up war preparations of Moscow's partner in the Far East.

Let me give you an idea of the people to whom we are told to extend the hand of fellowship to an idea of their philosophy, the hand of Moscow's Far East branch, Mao-Tse-Tung. In a manual distributed to his people a few months ago he had this to say: "Our war is sacred, just and progressive and aims at peace. We aim at peace not only in one country but also throughout the world, and we not only aim at temporary peace but at a permanent peace. In order to achieve this objective, we must wage a life and death struggle until our aim is achieved." That is the philosophy of Moscow's Far East partners who are now stepping up preparations for war on their neighbors.

Then we see the increased pressure on the Adenauer government. We have seen in the last week or so the H-bomb blast in the Gobi Desert. Then just to show they are just the same at home in applying their ideology we had a new purge where some of the top men, assistants to Beria, were put up against the wall and destroyed.

This, then, is the spirit of Geneva. This is the thing that came out of Geneva in July, the child of American faith and Soviet fraud. We have to think of this because we know that the kind of instrumentality we are creating here today cannot and will not exist unless it exists in an atmosphere of freedom and under a system of government such as we have. The businessman, perhaps, can afford to fall for this Communist propaganda, and of course politicians from time to time see peace and progress in

these negotiations where there is no peace and no progress.

Labor has never been neutral in its relations with dictatorship or tyranny. We were never non-Nazi when Hitler was riding high. We were not non-Fascists in the days of Mussolini: we were anti-Fascists. And we are also not non-Falangists in regard to Franco Spain; we are anti-Falangists. We can't afford the luxury in these trying days of being non-communist or neutral; we are not; and we must and shall be anti-communist.

In meeting all these problems at home and abroad we must be mindful of our duty to the nation as a whole, because as it was well said here a few minutes ago, what is good for the nation is good for us. We must show the American people that this movement, this organization, is dedicated to the good of our nation, to the good of all the citizens of our nation. Who can deny that higher wages and better working conditions are not good for America? Who can deny that the purchasing power built up largely through the instrumentality of free trade unions is not the most vital factor in this dynamic economy of ours? Who can deny that trade unions are dedicated to the welfare of the nation as a whole? Yes, we are going to use every means at our disposal to carry forth our program both at home and abroad. We are going to continue to support the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in its fight to keep labor free and in due time to strike the chains from those who are enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

We are going to use our economic weapon in dealing with the employers, if that is necessary. In order to get a fair share of the wealth we jointly produce with management. And we are going to meet those who would destroy our movement and who would turn back the clock—we are going to meet them on the political front, if you please.

I am somewhat amused by this hue and cry about labor political activity, about the labor bosses controlling votes. I am sure they know that we don't control votes. No one—no one can tell the American worker how he has to vote, and that includes you, me, and everybody else.

I sometimes wonder about these people who are making these statements about labor's political power. I am wondering if their consciences are starting to bother them. What is our political philosophy? Our political philosophy is to inform our own people on the issues they have before them, and in particular to the issues that affect the welfare of our own people.

Are the members of the United States Senate opposed to an intelligent electorate? I thought when they ran for office—and I have heard many of them—I thought they all said they wanted the public to always be informed; they wanted them to know about these issues. Well, that is what we want. We want our people to be informed on all the issues facing the electorate, and we want in particular for them to be informed on the issues that affect their lives and their daily work.

They are worried now about a labor party. Well, I don't see any sentiment for a labor party, and I don't see any

sentiment for labor to take over one of the existing parties. That is a new one now, that we are going to take over one of the existing parties. Well, I know this, that we have a right and a duty to meet those who are opposed to us wherever they present the challenge.

In the early days we met the starvation method. We met the company thug, the company spy, the company injunction and the company judge. We met the American Plan, so-called, designed to destroy our movement. And now where is the challenge? The challenge is in the legislative halls, and our answer is political education, and political activity. Because if we are going to carry on our work they have proved beyond question they can hamstring us and render us impotent by adverse legislation. And if we are going to carry on our work, as we must, we must meet that challenge in the legislative halls, and that means political education.

As I said before, in carrying on our work we must do so in a way that will commend us to our neighbor. After all, the American worker is just a part, one part, one segment of this great, big family we call the United States of America: a big segment, if you please, but still a segment.

We must carry on our work in a way that will bring commendation from those with whom we come in contact. We must conduct our affairs in consonance with the high principles upon which our movement is founded and which we are attempting to carry forward. I feel this we can do.

For myself, I appreciate beyond question, beyond doubt, beyond means to express to you, the confidence you have shown, that my colleagues of the AFL and CIO have shown in entrusting to me this very responsible task. I will give myself to it as best I can. I am not given to predictions. I tell you now I will never surrender principle for expediency. I tell you now that, in so far as it is my place to influence decisions, those decisions will be made without regard to where the union formerly was and without regard to how big or how little a union is.

Let us remember that on this very, very happy occasion we have merely taken the first step. We have created a tool, an instrumentality, something we can use to carry forward for the people we represent; and if we carry forward in good faith in our relations with one another and true to the principles and traditions upon which our movement was founded, I am sure we can succeed.

Let us face the future, confident beyond question that the cause we espouse, confident beyond expression that the things we ask for are just and proper. And if we do this—and I am sure that we will—then with God's help we shall not fail. I thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Now, just a few moments more and we can wind up this morning's session. At this time, in accordance with the Merger Agreement, we will proceed to elect the vice presidents for the AFL-CIO.

The Chair now recognizes one of the veterans of our movement who has made a tremendous contribution for many years and who, too, has made his contribution to this merger. The Chair

recognizes Brother Matthew Woll, who will place in nomination the AFL candidates for Vice Presidents of this new merged federation, Brother Woll.

## NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF VICE PRESIDENTS

**DELEGATE WOLL:** Mr. Chairman and delegates: I consider it a great pleasure and an honor in behalf of the former American Federation of Labor to present the following as nominees allotted to the AFL under the new Constitution to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

Matthew Woll  
George M. Harrison  
Harry C. Bates  
W. C. Birthright  
W. C. Doherty  
David Dubinsky  
Charles J. McGowan  
Herman Winter  
William L. McPetridge  
James C. Petrillo  
Dave Beck  
Maurice A. Hutcheson  
A. J. Hayes  
Joseph D. Keenan  
A. Philip Randolph  
Richard E. Walsh  
A. L. Spradling

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time the Chair recognizes another veteran of our movement, one who has had a very fine career and one with whom I have had the pleasure of being associated for many years—the president of the CIO Textile Workers, Brother Emil Rieve, who will nominate the CIO representatives on the Executive Council.

**DELEGATE RIEVE:** Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the former CIO to nominate the following as members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

Walter F. Reuther  
James B. Carey  
Emil Rieve  
Joseph Curran  
L. S. Buckmaster  
O. A. Knight  
Joseph A. Beirne  
David J. McDonald  
Jacob S. Potofsky  
Willard S. Townsend

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the 27 nominations for Vice Presidents. Are there further nominations?

If there are no further nominations, the Chair will entertain a motion to close nominations.

**DELEGATE CAREY:** I move that nominations be closed.

... The motion was seconded.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the motion that nominations be closed on those named.

Those in favor of the motion will signify by saying aye; contrary minded no.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered. I will ask the Acting Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot for those nominated.



**ACTING SECRETARY SCHNITZLER:** I hereby cast this unanimous ballot of this Convention for the 27 Vice Presidents who have just been nominated and elected for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** And I declare them elected.

At this time nominations are in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

### NOMINATION OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

At this time nominations are in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Chair recognizes that veteran of many years, who still somehow or other manages to look like a boy, President of the IUE, who will make a nomination for this office, Brother James B. Carey.

**VICE-PRESIDENT CAREY:** President Meany and delegates:  
Brother Chairman, Delegates:

It is an irony—a happy irony—that peace should be born in an armory. It is significant, moreover, that an armory should witness the end of what often has been called 20 years of war—labor's civil war.

We have assembled in this armory to declare not only peace, but unity, solidarity and fraternity as well.

We have assembled here to bring into being the mightiest democratic labor movement in the entire free world—the greatest joining together of free men and women in the 1,000-year history of trade unionism.

It is profoundly appropriate, therefore, that we pay tribute to those whose vision, dedication and determination shaped this historic unity, this new beginning.

We have built a new house of labor—a finer, stronger, larger house of labor—and the architects deserve our gratitude.

But because they designed well and because they built well, they deserve more than our gratitude—they deserve our future confidence.

Our confidence in their designs and in their construction was well-merited, as this convention here today attests.

No less, then, can be our confidence in the designs they shape and the construction they envision for our future.

We are today nominating and electing the trustees, the guardians and the builders of our new house of labor. I come before you to nominate one who was assuredly one of the chief architects and builders of that new house, a man whose vision and labors contributed immeasurably to the great new structure we are dedicating here today.

It is appropriate that I, who have been privileged to serve for years as Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, should have the added privilege and honor of nominating the first Secretary-Treasurer of the united American labor movement.

Our first Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will be a man who knows the American

labor movement intimately—from its grass roots to its highest pinnacles of responsibility and leadership.

The first Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO will be a man who came from the rank-and-file, served as business agent of his local and then as an international representative of his union.

His talents and conscientiousness soon elevated him to higher positions of trust and honor—first as vice-president of his International Union and then as president.

As Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL since 1953 he has more than justified the faith and confidence that both his colleagues and the rank and file had placed in him. A leader of outstanding integrity, vigor and imagination, he has performed brilliantly his multiple tasks as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL.

The great confidence reposed in him in the past gives substance to the confidence we place in him today—for the future.

I am deeply pleased and honored to nominate as the first Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations one of the chief architects of labor unity, one of the prime builders of our new house of labor: William F. Schnitzler.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Brother Louis Marcian, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE MARCIANTE:** President Meany, distinguished delegates: As President of the New Jersey Federation of Labor for almost a quarter of a century I have had the rare pleasure of watching the growth and development of this man who has just been placed in nomination for this great office in this great united labor movement.

It seems as though this is going to be an all Jersey affair. Jim Carey is a New Jerseyite, Bill Schnitzler is a New Jerseyite, and I am proud to say that I come from across the river.

I knew Bill as a bright eyed young business agent almost a quarter of a century ago. I knew him before then as a delegate to the Essex Trades Council. I knew him as a member of his local union, and I have watched his various promotions in the labor movement.

I don't care to indulge in the usual platitudes of nominating a candidate, but I do want to say this about him: I inspected the size of his hat this morning and it is the same size hat he had 25 years ago. He is still the same Bill Schnitzler who can represent labor's viewpoint intelligently and in the fashion that the American trade union movement demands.

It is a great pleasure for me to second the nomination of my friend and brother Jerseyman, William F. Schnitzler.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** We have Brother Schnitzler's name presented, and the nomination has been seconded. Are there further nominations?

If there are no further nominations, the motion is to close the nominations. I instruct Brother Jim Carey to cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for Brother Schnitzler as Secretary-

Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

**VICE-PRESIDENT CAREY:** It is a great pleasure to present in behalf of this Convention the unanimous ballot for the election of William F. Schnitzler as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I declare him elected.

I want to say to you that this gives me as much pleasure as anything that has happened here this morning, to present to you a very capable gentleman, a great true trade unionist, who will be Secretary-Treasurer of this organization for the ensuing term, Bill Schnitzler.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER:** Mr. President and delegates to this historic convention, I am moved beyond words to properly express my appreciation for the honor that has been bestowed on me to serve you in this fine executive office. I would be remiss if I didn't say to you that since the time we last met in our convention it has been the help and counsel, the advice and guidance I have gotten from President Meany that has made it possible to carry out the many duties of the office that I hold.

Then, too, I would be remiss if I didn't say that there was great help and cooperation received from the members of the Executive Council whenever they were called upon, the executive officers of the affiliated international unions, the officers of the State Federations of Labor and from our affiliated local unions, at all times in carrying out the duties and responsibilities of this office. And we have always had the help of the staff in our headquarters building.

I felt this morning that perhaps we had not said enough or examined enough the work that was done by the Unity Committee that represented both federations and that made this convention possible—the members of this Subcommittee of this Unity Committee, Brothers Reuther and Carey, Brothers Meany, Bates, and our Committee, the entire Unity Committee that gave of itself so much during these past months, men who had dedicated themselves to bringing about the merger of these organizations.

During this entire time I have seen how they have given so unselfishly of themselves. They had one great role that they had to accomplish, and that was the unifying of these great federations.

From this morning on we venture into a new era. This convention will be writing new goals, will be drawing new horizons, and charting courses to achieve that which we have established for ourselves. And for me personally, I hope that each one of you are imbued in the same manner and spirit, that as we enter this new era we enter it with the greatest comforts, that the leadership that will be given by the same men who made the merger possible will lead us to newer and greater heights than ever before.

From the bottom of my heart, I want to say thanks in the humblest way possible, and look forward to the help and the cooperation from each and every

one of you as we carry out our responsibilities that lie immediately ahead of us. With the good Lord willing, we will be together again and again, reviewing our successes and charting new goals for the memberships that we are honored and privileged to represent. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you very much. I would now like to present the new Vice Presidents who were not on the platform when we introduced the others. They are here now—Brother Townsend, Brother Spradling, Brother Walsh and Brother Philip Randolph. Here are the four you didn't meet.

In accordance with the instructions of the Unity Committee which was charged with the arrangements for this convention, there will be one over-all committee, and of necessity it will be a large committee which will conduct all the committee business of this convention. I would like to ask Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler to read the names of the members of this committee.

**SECRETARY SCHNITZLER:** I now present the names of the Committee.

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Schnitzler submitted the following names of the Committee:

Co-Chairmen—Matthew W. Voth, Photo Engravers and David McDonald, Steel Workers; Co-Secretaries—R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation and Joseph Curran, Maritime Union; James B. Carey, Electrical, Radio & Machine; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union; H. C. Bates, Bricklayers; Wm. C. Birthright, Barbers; Hyman Blumberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Wm. C. Donerty, Letter Carriers; David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers; Joseph A. Beirne, Communications Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery; E. J. Schaefer, Oil, Chemical & Atomic; Wm. L. McFetridge, Building Service; James C. Petrillo, Musicians; L. S. Buckmaster, Rubber Workers; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Al J. Hayes, Machinists; Emil Mazey, United Automobile Workers; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Joseph D. Keenan, Electrical Workers; Ralph Helstein, Packinghouse Workers; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employees; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; A. F. Hartung, Woodworkers; A. L. Spradling, Street & Electric Railway; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Karl F. Feller, Brewers; Workers; James Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Peter Posco, Hod Carriers; Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers; John Mara, Boot & Shoe Workers; Arnold Zander, State, County & Municipal; Harry Sayre, Paperworkers; John Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron; Alex Rose, Hatters; John J. Grogan, Marine & Shipbuilding; Thomas E. Dunwoody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical; Joseph Collis, Newspaper Guild; Sam Ming, Grain Millers; Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen; Lee Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Burl Phares, Glass & Ceramic Workers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Peter Schoemann, Plumbing & Pipe

Fitting; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; Paul Phillips, Paper Makers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way; Ed Miller, Hotel & Restaurant; L. M. Rafferty, Painters.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The committee just read is the Resolutions Committee. It will meet immediately upon adjournment in Room E for a very short session.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for an announcement.

### **SUIT RAFFLE**

#### **Conducted by Amalgamated Clothing Workers**

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: All delegates and members of the press are invited to register for a free suit offered by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as part of their union label campaign at the ACWA union label display.

The drawing for the suit will be held on the Convention floor on Thursday

and the winner announced at that time.

There is only one condition: You must have a union label in your suit, coat, or in some other item of apparel.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, delegates, I would like to call your attention to the fact that at 2:30 this afternoon the President of the United States will address this Convention by direct telephone wire from his home at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. This is the first direct address being made by the President to any group of people since his illness on last September 24th.

I appreciate the attention and the patience of the delegates here this morning. We are now going to adjourn this session under the rules, and I ask you to reconvene here at 2:15 sharp. The President will go on the air at exactly 2:30, and I would like everyone in his seat at that time.

This session stands adjourned.

At 1:10 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed until 2:15 o'clock p.m.

## FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:25 o'clock p. m. **PRESIDENT MEANY:** Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

### THE HONORABLE

#### DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President of the United States

(By telephone from Gettysburg)

Mr. Meany, Mr. Schnitzer, Members of the Executive Council, Delegates to this Convention and ladies and gentlemen of the AFL-CIO all over everywhere in America: You of organized labor and those who have gone before you in the union movement have helped make a unique contribution to the general welfare of the Republic—the development of the American philosophy of labor. This philosophy, if adopted globally, could bring about a world, prosperous at peace, sharing the fruits of earth with justice to all men. It would raise to freedom and prosperity hundreds of millions of men and women and their children who toil in slavery behind the Curtain.

The first line of this philosophy is that the ultimate values of mankind are spiritual. These values include liberty, human dignity, opportunity and equal rights and justice.

Workers want recognition as human beings and as individuals before everything else. They want a job that gives them a feeling of satisfaction and self-expression, good wages, respectable working conditions, reasonable hours, protection of status and security. These constitute the necessary foundations on which you build to reach your higher aims.

Moreover, we cannot be satisfied with welfare in the aggregate. If any group or section of citizens is denied its fair play in the common prosperity, all others among us are thereby endangered.

The second principle of the American philosophy is this: The economic interest of employer and employee is a mutual prosperity. Their economic future is inseparable. Together they must advance in mutual respect, in mutual understanding, toward mutual prosperity. Of course, there will be contests over the sharing of benefits of production and so we have the right to strike and to argue all night when necessary in collective bargaining sessions. But in a deeper sense this surface struggle is subordinate to the overwhelming common interest in greater production and a better life for all to share.

The American worker strives for betterment not by destroying his employer and his employer's business, but by understanding his employer's problems of competition, prices, markets. And the American employer can never forget that, since mass production assumes a mass market, good wages and progressive employment practices for his employee are good business.

The closing struggle doctrine of Marx was the invention of a lonely refugee scribbling in a dark recess of the British Museum. He abhorred and detested the great middle class. He did not foresee

that, in America, labor, respected and prosperous, would constitute—with the farmer and the businessman—his hated middle class. But our second principle, the mutual interest of employer and employee—is the natural outgrowth of teamwork for progress, characteristic of the American economy where the barriers of class do not exist.

The third principle is this: Labor relations will be managed best when worked out in honest negotiation between employers and unions, without Government's unwarranted interference.

This requires maturity in the private handling of labor matters within the framework of law, for the protection of the public interest and the rights of both labor and management. The splendid record of labor peace and unparalleled prosperity during the last three years demonstrates our industrial maturity.

Some of the most difficult and unprecedented negotiations in the history of collective bargaining took place during this period, against the backdrop of non-interference by Government except only to protect the public interest, in the rare cases of genuine national emergency. This third principle, relying as it does on collective bargaining, assumes that labor organizations and management will both observe the highest standards of integrity, responsibility and concern for the national welfare.

You are more than union members bound together by a common goal of better wages, better working conditions, and protection of your security. You are American citizens.

The roads you travel, the schools your children attend, the taxes you pay, the standards of integrity in government, the conduct of the public business, is your business as Americans. And while all of you, as to the public business, had a common goal—a stronger and better America—your views as to the best means of reaching that goal vary as they do in any other group of American citizens.

So in your new national organization, as well as in your many constituent organizations, you have a great opportunity of making your meetings the world's most effective exhibit of democratic processes. In those meetings the rights of minorities holding different social, economic and political views must be scrupulously protected in their views accurately reflected. In this way, as American citizens, you will help the public correct the faulty, fortify the good, build stoutly for the future, and reinforce the most cherished freedoms of each individual citizen.

This country has long understood that by helping other peoples to a better understanding and practice of representative government, we strengthen both them and ourselves. The same truth applies to the economic field. We strengthen other free people and ourselves when we help them to understand the workings of a free economy, to improve their own standards of living, and to join with us in world trade that serves to strengthen and unite us all.

In the world struggle some of the finest weapons for all Americans are these three simple tenets of free labor. They are again, man is created in the Divine Image and has spiritual aspirations that transcend the material; second, the real interest of employers and employees are mutual; third, unions and employers can and should work out their own destinies. As we appreciate and practice that message without cease we will wage a triumphant crusade for prosperity, freedom and peace among men.

To close, it is fitting that we let our hearts be filled with the earnest prayer that with the help of a kind providence the world may be led out of bitterness and materialism and forge into a new era of harmony and spiritual growth and self-realization for all men.

Thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I am sure that I express the sentiments of all in this hall this afternoon when I say to the President that we sincerely appreciate this very fine message delivered to us by telephone line from Gettysburg, where the President is still in the process of recuperation from his recent illness.

In the final analysis we are all Americans, and as Americans we appreciate the service and the demands that are made upon the time of whoever is selected to lead this nation. In your behalf, I extend to President Eisenhower our sincere thanks for this greeting and our heartfelt wishes for a complete recovery so that he may be able to carry on the duties of this most trying job in these very trying times.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler to announce the names of convention officers.

#### AFL-CIO CONVENTION OFFICERS

Secretary Schnitzler read the following named officers:

James C. Quinn, Assistant Secretary; Morris Iushevitz, Assistant Secretary; Robert Davidson, Sergeant-at-Arms; John J. DeLury, Sergeant-at-Arms; William Kohn, Sergeant-at-Arms; George Denucci, Sergeant-at-Arms; Thomas Moran, Sergeant-at-Arms; Moe Rosen, Sergeant-at-Arms; James Lacey, Messenger; James Leary, Messenger; Paul Ornburn, Messenger.

#### ESCORT COMMITTEES

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** On tomorrow's program we have scheduled, along with our regular work, three outstanding speakers. At 10:30 tomorrow morning we will be addressed by the Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Averell Harriman.

At 11:30 tomorrow morning we will have an address from the Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, and tomorrow afternoon at 3:00 o'clock Dr. Israel Goldstein will address us.

To provide facilities for these speakers and escort them to the hall I would like to announce the following escort committees.

Secretary Schnitzler read the following committees:

#### Escort Committee for Governor Averell Harriman

Thomas A. Murray, President, New York State Federation of Labor; James C. Petrillo, President, American Federation of Musicians; Alex Rose, President, United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers; Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime Union of America; Louis Hollander, President, New York State Council.

#### Escort Committee for Secretary of Labor—James P. Mitchell

W. C. Birtwright, President, Journeymen Barbers; H. C. Bates, President, Bricklayers International Union; Dave Beck, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Emil Rieve, President, Textile Workers Union; L. S. Buckmaster, President, United Rubber Workers.

#### Escort Committee for Dr. Israel Goldstein

Ossip Walinsky, President, International Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers; Patrick E. Gorman, President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; T. C. Carroll, President, Maintenance of Way Employees; Harry Block, Vice President, International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Harry Sayre, President, United Paperworkers of America.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The committees will kindly take note and see that they are in the hall at the appointed time.

#### Miss May Gompers Presented

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Before going into our business session this afternoon I would like to take the opportunity of presenting to you someone who brings back memories of the past—a very delightful young lady sitting here who bears a very marked resemblance to her distinguished grandfather—Miss May Gompers, the youngest granddaughter of Samuel Gompers.

... Miss May Gompers stood and acknowledged the applause of the delegates.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time the Chair recognizes the co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Brother David McDonald.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

**COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN McDONALD:** Mr. Chairman and delegates: We had a short meeting of the Resolutions Committee following the morning adjournment. Naturally we didn't have an opportunity to review the some 50 resolutions which will come before this body, but we have decided upon a certain procedure. We did pick out about half a dozen resolutions for presentation this afternoon, and what we shall do from this moment on is the following: Mr. Matthew Woll, co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee has a statement which

he and I have agreed upon and which states our general procedure and our general philosophy. Then following Mr. Woll the co-Secretaries, Mr. Soderstrom and Mr. Curran, will alternate in reading the resolutions. We shall pick out the resolutions from day to day for presentation, resolutions, perhaps, which will coincide properly with the appearance of the guest speakers.

I now ask Mr. Matthew Woll, co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, to present our formal statement.

**COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN WOLL:** The Resolutions Committee is preparing for submission to the delegates to this historic Convention approximately 50 resolutions which we believe will cover substantially all of the major issues confronting the American labor movement today. You have before you Resolutions Report No. 1 containing the first 6 resolutions to be submitted. Before we present these resolutions for your consideration, however, I wish to say a few words about the procedure which the Resolutions Committee is following.

Prior to the convening of this Convention, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee appointed a small Subcommittee, with equal representation from the AFL and CIO, to review the major policies previously adopted by the separate organizations. Naturally, this Committee particularly studied the resolutions and policies adopted at the 1954 Conventions, of the two organizations. The Committee discovered that on virtually all major issues, the two organizations had adopted policies which were in all respects either identical or very similar.

The Subcommittee of the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee made a special analysis of the policies adopted by the two organizations. This analysis has been made available to the Resolutions Committee of this Convention. The resolutions which have been approved by the Resolutions Committee for submission to this Convention reflect to the maximum possible extent the viewpoints previously adopted by the AFL and CIO.

The Resolutions Committee is aware that a large number of resolutions have been introduced by delegates who participated in the recent separate conventions of the AFL and CIO. Because of differences between the two organizations in dealing with these resolutions, it did not seem feasible for each of these resolutions to be considered at this first Convention of the AFL-CIO. The Resolutions Committee wishes to point out, however, that the subjects covered in most of the resolutions submitted by delegates to the separate conventions are covered in the resolutions which the Resolutions Committee will submit to you at this convention. Moreover, all resolutions introduced in the separate conventions have been referred for consideration and action to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and a separate statement concerning their disposition will be made after they have been considered.

I now call upon the co-Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Soderstrom, to report upon the resolutions indicated.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Delegate Soderstrom, one of the co-Secretaries of the Resolutions Committee will now make his report.

## CIVIL DEFENSE

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on Civil Defense as follows:

Organized labor has supported civil defense from its very beginning in 1940. In the planning and programming of civil defense procedure, representatives of organized labor have been consulted. Representatives of organized labor have been called upon to help plan the protection of civilians and the restoration of industries and service facilities that may be destroyed or interrupted.

Since 1951 organized labor has expressed its official support of civil defense through a Labor Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Defense Administration which is a committee broadly representative of organized labor. Meetings have been held from time to time with the Civil Defense Administrator for the purpose of expressing the position of organized labor on the problems of civil defense and its effect on the membership of organized labor.

Organized labor has long taken the position that civil defense is a Federal Government responsibility in exactly the same way as military defense. Organized labor believes that the Federal Government must take the leadership in civil defense if we are to avoid chaos in the event of war. Changes in the Civil Defense Public Law 920 are necessary in order to bring this about.

The development of nuclear weapons since 1950 makes this change absolutely necessary. The area of destruction possible with nuclear weapons is such that recognized geographic lines or political subdivisions cannot be recognized or defenses set up on such outmoded procedures. Organized workers who work in plants and live in critical target areas cannot be regulated on the basis of state, county or city lines. Leadership in developing civil defense programs for such industrial areas must of necessity come from plans developed by Federal Government authorities based on a knowledge of an enemy's ability to penetrate into such areas.

Organized labor has offered its resources and manpower to assist in the development of an adequate civil defense program. Organized labor insists that the civil defense program which it regards now as a nationwide survival program must be based on the American concept of equal partnership and equal responsibility for all who share equal danger; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The reality of the situation and the grim dangers we face make it mandatory that the first convention of the united labor movement under the banner of the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress of the United States to pass a new Civil Defense Act which will provide that:

1. The primary responsibility for civil defense rests with the federal government in the same manner as provided in the U. S. Constitution for the Common Defense of the Nation.



2. The Federal Government be responsible for giving direction, service and financial assistance to the states, counties and communities for developing civil defense plans in line with the federal responsibility.
3. The Congress through the proper committees authorize and appropriate sufficient funds for these purposes.
4. Congress authorize the Civil Defense Administrator to set up minimum standards of civil defense preparation and facilities to maintain them, such standards to be maintained subject to Civil Defense inspection in order to qualify for federal aid in any respect.
5. Congress be directed to provide proper protection, wages, and terms of employment, and workmen's compensation for civil defense workers who may be required to work or train in civil defense procedures prior to or after an attack on any community.
6. Civil defense regional boundaries be revised to meet the reality of the nation's critical target area and fall-out potential as a result of the use of nuclear weapons.
7. Direction of the civil defense programs will not be abandoned or delegated to the armed forces in the event of martial law or enemy attack.

We believe that a civil defense program if approached and developed in this manner would solve the apathy that seems to prevail at this time on matters pertaining to civil defense.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously ...

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Delegate Curran, also co-Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, will make a report.

### COOPERATIVES

... Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution on Cooperatives, as follows:

For many years the American trade union movement has befriended and supported all genuine cooperative organizations in the United States. In many parts of the nation our own members have, in fact, provided the leadership which has resulted in the successful growth of these democratic and useful enterprises.

Often, when neither a private profit undertaking nor a public agency has been able to meet an urgent need, groups of people have themselves established their own cooperative in order to fill the gap.

One of the most useful types of cooperatives is the credit union through which a group pools its own savings and then lends funds to its own members at a low interest rate. In recent years credit unions have grown spectacularly and hundreds of AFL-CIO

unions have established them, thereby saving millions of dollars which otherwise would have been paid out to small loan companies which charge extortionately high interest rates. Besides, the credit unions earn a substantial return for their members in the form of interest paid on their savings.

Encouraging gains are also being made in the field of cooperative health services despite the vicious attacks made on them by reactionary elements led by the American Medical Association. In cities like Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated health centers have expanded both in membership and services and provide the highest quality of medical care. In a number of other communities, AFL-CIO affiliates support and assist cooperative health plans which are meeting the highest standards at the lowest possible cost to the families participating in them. Everywhere we continue to be in the forefront of a vigorous campaign to protect the right of consumers to organize cooperative health centers of their own.

Taking a useful place alongside credit unions and cooperative health services there is a growing number of cooperative housing and insurance enterprises and other consumer cooperatives, all of them helping to bring closer together those who produce and serve on the one hand and those who consume on the other; as a result, highest quality goods and services are being provided at lower costs to hundreds of thousands of our members.

The growth of the cooperative movement, furthermore, not only increases the purchasing power of wages and salaries, but also is a powerful force in the battle against monopolistic elements in our economy. In addition, cooperative enterprises are an excellent means through which organized labor can unite with other groups in a joint effort to advance the public welfare.

Finally, since the cooperatives have traditionally supported the objectives of organized labor, their own collective bargaining practices have almost always led to the highest type of employer-employee relations; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for all genuine cooperatives and urges its affiliates to continue to give them all possible aid so that their growth will be assured and their benefits can be more broadly shared and enjoyed.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of this resolution.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

### INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time I would like to take note of the presence of a visitor I am sure you are interested in meeting, the head of one of the largest railroad brotherhood organizations who is visiting with us today on the platform, and I would like to have him take a bow—the President of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brother H. E. Gilbert.

I note the presence on the platform of two of our Canadian brothers, and I understand they are going through the process of merger to be completed next spring. I would like to have you meet them while they are here with us. Brother Donald MacDonald, Secretary, Canadian Congress of Labor and President Claude Jodoin of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Sitting very quietly in the back here we have a visitor from whom we will hear in a day or two, a very, very important personage in the international labor field, the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Secretary of the International Transport Federation, Brother Omer Becu.

Co-Secretary Soderstrom will now continue with the Committee's report.

### REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (continued)

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

#### MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR

The AFL-CIO is greatly concerned with the continued national neglect of the plight of the hundreds of thousands of migrant men, women and children who harvest our nation's foods and fibers. Action to stamp out the poverty and ignorance, crime and disease, and international discord and ill will that are being bred in our fields of plenty is long overdue.

The evil consequences of the failure of Congress and the state legislatures to face up to the ever-worsening plight of our migrant farm workers affect—and therefore directly concern—all our people. While food prices and profits for food processors have been rising steadily, the wages paid to workers who harvest this food have been forced steadily downward.

Since the end of World War II the plight of our domestic farm workers has been worsened by the hiring by U. S. farm employers of ever-increasing numbers of foreign laborers. Because of loose certifications of an alleged "need" for foreign workers which clearly does not always exist, too often these foreign workers have driven our own U. S. farm workers into the ranks of the unemployed while taking their jobs at lower wage levels and under conditions to which native workers rightfully will not submit.

We recognize that, under certain conditions, domestic agriculture may require the services of foreign contract labor. We appreciate the tremendous debt we owe to workers from Mexico, the British West Indies and Canada for the part they played during the war in enabling our nation to provide the food and fibers needed for victory. However, as convincing evidence of the falsity of the exaggerated claims by farm employers of the extent of their present needs for foreign labor, we point out that instead of the improvement in wages and working conditions of agricultural labor which should be expected if a real shortage existed, the

wage trend has been static or downward in recent years in those areas where most foreign labor has been employed.

The AFL-CIO see in this a serious threat to the welfare of the vast majority of our nation's farmers, particularly the family farmers who must market their crops in the same competitive market as the big farm employers using cheap foreign labor. Moreover, exploitation of Mexican braceros in the Southwest has been in the past, and remains, a real blot upon the reputation of the U. S., not only in Mexico, but throughout all of Latin America; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. This Convention heartily endorses the efforts made by the AFL and the CIO to deal with this problem during the past year and directs the new federation to continue and expand such efforts.

2. We urge the enactment of laws designed to meet the special needs of migratory farm workers by Congress and State Legislatures and call particularly upon Congress to take the long-overdue action of enacting legislation to regulate labor contractors, establish regulations for safe transportation, provide better housing and health facilities, and insure education opportunities to migrant children.

3. We urge Congress to end the discrimination which now exists against our own citizen farm workers under the Mexican Contract Labor Program by enactment of legislation requiring employers to offer terms and conditions of employment to U. S. workers at least comparable to the higher standards they must now offer Mexican braceros in order to be eligible to obtain Mexican labor.

4. We recommend increased appropriations for the Farm Placement Service of the Department of Labor in order that it may expand its efforts to provide year-round employment for domestic migratory farm workers. In meeting the needs of employers for farm labor, the Labor Department should give emphasis to the placement of U. S. workers, including Puerto Ricans, in preference to bringing in workers from other countries.

5. When foreign labor must be brought in, however, we favor the principle of an International Agreement such as that which governs the Mexican Contract Labor Program. We urge repeal of the "go-it-alone" Amendment to the Mexican Contract Labor Law which the Administration pushed through the 83rd Congress. We urge that Congress take immediate action to establish a uniform law governing all foreign agricultural labor, regardless of its country of origin, by extending the bilateral principles of the Mexican Contract Labor Law.

6. We commend the U. S. and Mexican Border Patrols for their recent actions to reduce illegal border crossings. We point out, however, that illegal "wetback" traffic still continues on a large scale, and call upon Congress to vote an additional increase in funds for the Border Patrol so that all "wetback" labor may be eliminated.



7. The Joint U. S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, set up under the auspices of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, is to be commended for the work it has done in this area, as well as in other matters affecting the labor movements of the U. S. and Mexico. We thank the free labor movement of Mexico for its cooperation and pledge the full support of the AFL-CIO in the effort of the Joint Committee to improve the working and living conditions of Mexican migrant workers.

8. The U. S. Department of Labor, which is charged with the responsibility for enforcing the international agreement with Mexico and the terms of the individual contracts of Mexican workers, has been denied adequate appropriations to do this job. We urge an immediate increase in appropriations for the Department of Labor compliance staff so that there will be at least one full-time compliance officer for every 2,000 braceros brought into this country.

9. We renew our request for legislation penalizing persons who hire or transport illegal workers, as has been recommended by the Attorney General of the United States.

10. We demand that legal foreign farm labor be guaranteed full rights and social benefits equal to those enjoyed by U. S. labor, including protection against any kind of discrimination, and the exercise of their right to union affiliation and representation.

11. We again call attention to the fact that United States farm workers are excluded from virtually all labor and social legislation, including the Wage-Hour Act, the National Labor Relations Act, State Safety and Workmen's Compensation laws, etc. Congress and state legislatures should act to end this inequity.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Before proceeding with the Resolutions Committee report I would like to announce that there will be a meeting of the Executive Council in Room C on the lower floor of this Armory immediately after adjournment.

A little later in the afternoon I will announce a meeting of the Resolutions Committee which will have to be held this afternoon.

Committee co-Secretary Curran now continues with the report of the Resolutions Committee.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

#### **STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII AND HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

The platforms of both political parties in 1952 urged immediate statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii and endorsed home rule for the District of Columbia.

Despite the unequivocal language in

these platforms favoring statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii and home rule for the District of Columbia, elements in both political parties have continued to play politics with these important issues. We unequivocally condemn this sordid political maneuvering; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** Manifest justice supports the demands for statehood of both Alaska and Hawaii, and we urge that it be granted without further delay.

We declare our support for District home rule and national suffrage as an act of simple justice to the citizens of the nation's Capital.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

#### **PUBLIC RELATIONS**

Organized labor is aware of the need for attaining and maintaining good public relations. The enemies of labor have sought to isolate our free, democratic trade unions from the rest of the community, in order better to attack our objectives and our activities. These hostile forces have sought to cloak and minimize the constructive achievements of our labor movement in the hope that the public will develop an erroneous and hostile concept of the functions, purposes and accomplishments of trade unions.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and their affiliated unions have made notable progress in improving labor's public relations in recent years.

Our Public Relations activities have been compounded of many factors. First of all, the actions and policies of our labor movement have demonstrated its true nature as an organization devoted to the public good and concerned with the welfare of our nation and all of its citizens.

The bona fide labor press, with its large and growing circulation and the continually improving quality of the various union publications, has kept our members alert and informed of the issues of the day in every section of the country.

The AFL and the CIO and their affiliated unions, through the use of radio, have presented their viewpoint directly to the people.

In addition, the AFL and the CIO, by sponsoring liberal commentators like Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook, have brought a fair and unbiased presentation of the news to millions of American listeners—news undictating and uninfluenced by the sponsors. Through the public service announcements on these programs, the constructive viewpoints of the two federations were brought to millions of American homes; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** 1. The AFL-CIO authorizes and instructs its officers to inaugurate an effective and forward-looking public relations program, making use of all available media, including radio and television. The objective of this program shall be to give the American public a true concept of labor's activities and its role in our domestic society.

2. The AFL-CIO commends the progress of the bona fide labor press and calls on

all our affiliated unions and membership to give full support to the labor press, including the newly-created AFL-CIO News.

3. The AFL-CIO commends the merger efforts of the International Labor Press of America and the CIO Editors and Publicity Directors Conference as a method of bringing together the ideas of union publications and union public relations directors into a common organization best adapted to serving the interests of our organization.

4. The AFL-CIO specifically authorizes the Executive Officers to conclude appropriate arrangements for the continued sponsorship of radio news broadcasts.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would ask that you give your attention to the work of the Convention for just a few moments more. You have been very patient and we are going to have an early adjournment because of the necessity of allowing the Resolutions Committee to get into some of the work for the rest of the week. Just a few minutes more and we will be able to adjourn for the day. I would ask your attention now to the final report of this afternoon of the Resolutions Committee.

The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Curran.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution as follows:

### PUBLIC SAFETY

Wholly aside from its concern in prevention of work accidents, organized labor has a deep interest in reducing the total national accident rate which visits immeasurable suffering and grief upon the American people each year. The financial and physical burden of this tragic toll falls mainly on wage workers and their families.

The record shows that during the calendar year 1954 a total of 90,000 men, women and children were slaughtered in all accidents while an estimated 9,050,000 were injured to an extent that incapacitated them. While these figures reflect a reduction of 5 per cent in the toll of the prior year, the record is far from satisfactory.

Here are the figures:

Type of Accident	Killed	Injured
Public Motor Vehicle	33,000	1,150,000
Work Motor Vehicle	2,800	100,000
Other Work Accidents	11,200	1,750,000
Home Accidents	27,500	4,100,000
Other Accidents	15,500	1,950,000
	90,000	9,050,000

This carnage occurred in the public areas, work locations, houses, schools, and on the highways of our country where the people have the right to be safe in their peace and dignity. All but a comparatively few of these accidents were preventable; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** 1. Organized labor must extend its efforts, through cooperation with all public and private agencies, to reduce the toll taken of the American people each year by fatal and crippling accidents.

2. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states and local communities by all available means to eliminate all avoidable accidents.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of this resolution. The motion for adoption of the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

### COMMUNICATIONS

... The following communications were received:

December 5, 1955

Charleston,

George Meany, Pres., AFL-CIO, Care Founding Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave.

Confident that AFL-CIO will organize new millions of American workers, help wipe out racial and religious bias from all phases of American life, constantly improve standard of living and raise cultural and spiritual level of our country.

With new strength, labor, under a united banner, will take giant steps politically, economically and socially toward achievement of these goals in a world free of war.

More than ever, labor needs an alert, fighting press arm. As part of the labor press, Labor's Daily, formed to serve the entire labor movement, stands ready to continue its three year old championship of unity.

LABOR'S DAILY

Philippine Trade Unions Council

The history-making merger of the powerful American Federation of Labor and the great Congress of Industrial Organizations gives indubitable proof that no obstacle is too great to overcome when men of goodwill, working almost to the point of selflessness, agree to fight for the common weal.

For years sinister forces have attempted to use to their advantage the separate standings of these two mighty democratic institutions. While they did not succeed, they nevertheless did continue to use the situation to sow disunity among the free workers of the world.

This convention seals finally and, it is to be hoped, for always, the determination of American labor not only to unite for its welfare but also to serve notice to wreckers of free trade unionism that the AFL-CIO stands for nothing short of freedom under a regime of universal brotherhood, liberty, and justice under God.

The Philippine Trade Unions Council congratulates and wishes the AFL-CIO Godspeed.

JOSE J. HERNANDEZ,  
General Secretary.

December 2, 1955

Wellington, N. Z.,

The Chairman, American Federation of Labour and CIO Unity Conference, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

New Zealand Federation of Labour extends fraternal greetings to delegates attending merger conference of The American Federation of Labour and CIO and every good wish for the success of the combined organisation in their fight in

support of Free Democratic Trade Unionism in all countries of the world.

WALSH, President,  
New Zealand Federation of Labour.

December 2, 1955

New Orleans, La.,

Convention Chairman, AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

We the officials and membership of the National Maritime Union, New Orleans, Louisiana, want to take this opportunity to give you, (the combined CIO and A. F. of L. Convention Delegates) our wholehearted support and wish you God-speed in your undertaking.

PHIL SANFORD,  
NMU Agent.

December 2, 1955

Washington, D. C.,

George Meany, President AFL-CIO  
Hotel New Yorker.

The American Veterans Committee and its thousands of members sends its greetings to the great new organization the AFL-CIO. We know that this is the beginning of a new period of labor greatness and accomplishment for your members and for the nation.

MICKEY LEVINE, Nat'l Chairman,  
American Veterans Committee,  
1830 Jefferson Pl., Northwest,  
Washington 6, D. C.

December 5, 1955

Perth Amboy, N. J.,

George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory.

Dear Brother Meany: The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers hails the establishment of the great united American labor movement. The White House Conference on Education developed real meaning only because of the united efforts of the labor representatives. We look forward to your help in organizing more teachers as members of the AFT. Congratulations.

HOWARD E. RICHARDSON,  
President.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. 5.

Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther,  
71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave.

The two great arms of the American labor movement, now joined in convention to consummate their historic merger, are to be congratulated for a development that promises well for labor, management, the public and the general cause of brotherhood and good human relations in our country. We of the National Conference of Christians and Jews are indebted for the cooperation of both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in aiding our program for promoting better understanding and cooperation among Catholics, Jews and Protestants. May God's blessing be upon your work.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY, President.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.,

President George Meany and President Walter Reuther, AFL-CIO Merger Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave., 34th St.

The Negro Labor Committee sends you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a most successful merger convention. For twenty years the Negro Labor Committee

has been the advocate of unity and has diligently practiced it. From our birth we have served all sections of labor regardless of affiliation or race or craft or creed except communism. We have survived every attempt to capture or destroy us. Your final merger will be appreciated around the world by all workers and progressives who have faith in the survival of democracy and those who brought unity about will live forever in the memory of man. Again success. Fraternally.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH, Chairman,  
The Negro Labor Committee.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Avenue and 34th Street:

The Baptist Ministers Conference of New York City and vicinity congratulates you upon your merger.

WILLIAM P. HANZ, Secretary,  
National Maritime Union of America,  
affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

December 2, 1955

AFL-CIO

71st Regiment Armory  
Park Avenue and 34th Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

On behalf of the officials and membership of the National Maritime Union of America, I wish to extend to you fraternal greetings to all delegates assembled in Convention, December 5.

Best wishes for a successful convention which will prove beneficial to your organization and to the labor movement in general.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

JOHN R. McDOUGALL,  
National Secretary.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention  
71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St., New York, N. Y.

To the Delegates:

Greetings and best wishes for a successful merger, at convention from the employees of Rogers Peet Co.

Shop Chairman, ANTHONY DE MAIO.

December 4, 1955

Brooklyn, N. Y.

George Meany, President,  
William Schnitzler, Sec'y Treasurer,  
AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St., N. Y.

It is with great joy and satisfaction that we send this message of congratulations and good wishes to you and through you to your associate officers, delegates and the sixteen million members they represent. We also extend our profound thanks and appreciation for the moral and financial support our national, free, Non-Sectarian Sanatorium received for the past forty-eight years, and we have implicit faith that now with a united labor movement we will receive support in even a greater measure than heretofore.

George Rubin, Chairman;  
Joseph Belsky, Secretary;  
R. Schwartz, National Supervisor,  
National Trade Union Committee  
for the support of  
Ex-Patients Sanatorium  
for Tuberculosis and  
Chronic Disease of  
Denver, Colorado.

Detroit, Mich.

George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y.  
May reconciliation reign greetings and best wishes from the Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

META RISEMAN, National President of the WILPS, Dryden, Mich.

December 3, 1955

Brooklyn, N. Y.

President George Meany, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y.

The League for Industrial Democracy extends heartfelt congratulations to this historic convention a landmark in the progress of American labor and of democracy and freedom here and throughout the world.

NATHANIEL MINKOFF, WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, HARRY W. LAIDLER.

December 4, 1955

New York

George Meany, President and William Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, N. Y.

In behalf of a half million organized workers in New York we greet the new federation of labor upon a successful merger.

This free democratic trade union movement of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations stands out as a beacon of light.

This merger is not only an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America but also for the workers and free thinking peoples all over the world. We salute you.

United Hebrew Trades,  
MORRIS GOLDOWSKY, Chairman,  
and WILLIAM WOLFERT, Executive Secretary.

December 2, 1955

New York

AFL-CIO Unity Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th and Park Ave., N. Y.

On behalf of the officers, the constituent organizations and the more than seventy thousand members of the Labor Zionist Movement in America, we send our warmest greetings to the Unity Convention of the AFL-CIO. We welcome enthusiastically the consolidation of the American labor movement into a mighty force for the benefit of the laboring men and women, the progress of our country as a whole and the furtherance of the struggle for democracy, brotherhood and freedom throughout the world.

It has constantly been a source of deep gratification to us that over the years organized labor in America has always been united in its support of the Jewish national homeland in Israel and in solidarity with Israel's labor movement, the Histadrut. In this time of acute tension in the Near East and grave peril for Israel, we are confident that American labor will exert its mighty influence on the side of democracy and peace in that troubled part of the world and for the benefit and further upbuilding of Israel whose socially advanced and largely cooperative society may serve as a beacon-light to

the oppressed in the Near East and throughout the world.

Labor Zionist Assembly,  
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN, Chairman,  
JACOB KATZMAN, Secretary,  
LOUIS SEGAL, Chairman, Public Affairs.

December 4, 1955

New York

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, E. 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y.

Congratulations, Brother Meany, on your election as President of the great unified labor movement, AFL-CIO. We hope that this new powerful union will help lead the way to organize the unorganized. The 30,000 cab drivers of New York City is the last open shop industry in this great labor town. We hope that the year 1956 can be the year of decision in bringing forth the complete unionization of the taxicab industry in New York City. We wish you the best of success and long years of honest and sincere leadership. With warm fraternal greetings from the officers and members of Local 826, Teamsters Union, A.F.L.

WILLIAM H. NUCHOW, President.

December 3, 1955

San Francisco, Calif.

Lee Lalor, Hotel Biltmore, N. Y.

Mr. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO Convention, New York City, N. Y. Local 261, Construction and General Laborers Union, San Francisco, Calif., extend fraternal greeting and pledges heartfelt support to the unification of American labor's two houses. It is our hope that the joining of the AFL and the CIO will strengthen the ranks of labor for winning a fuller share of the fruits of our toil and give courage to the struggles of our people for advancement of democratic institutions. It is our further hope that the merger will solidify the forces in our movement which stand for clean unionism, free of discrimination, racketeering or communism. To this goal Local 261 pledges its total and unstinted cooperation.

Construction and General Laborers Union, Local 261, San Francisco, Calif.

New York, December 5, 1955

AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Armory, N. Y.

We send heartfelt greetings on the occasion of this historic event in the life of the labor movement and our country which unites the AFL and CIO in one great labor organization. We are sure that this will prove to be a great force for the benefit of the free labor movement here the world over and for all forces of democracy.

Farband Labor Zionist Order,  
MEYER L. BROWN, President,  
LOUIS SEGAL, Secretary.

December 5, 1955

Miami, Fla.

Honorable George Meany, Head AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory  
You, Walter Reuther and all those fine men who worked with you in bringing about the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have accomplished one of the greatest acts of statesmanship and achieved one of the

greatest victories which has been known in our heroic history for a better and happier life for the people of this land. As a friend and citizen accept the warmest commendations of my head and heart and my heartiest good wishes to AFL-CIO and all that it means to mankind.

CLAUDE PEPPER

December 5, 1955

SS Santalines, Lantanaradio, Florida.

Mr. George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Best wishes in your present venture.  
CREW SS SANTALINES.

December 5, 1955

Istanbul

George Meany, Walter Reuther, AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Please, convey to Unity Convention my deep personal regret at inability to be with you on this historic occasion. American Labor can go forward with confidence in its own future and ever strengthen its support for world-wide democratic progress. ILO sends its warmest good wishes to you and all present.

DAVID A. MORSE, Director,  
General International Labor Organization.

December 5, 1955

Washington, D. C.

AFL-CIO Convention, the Armory, N. Y.

Congratulations on AFL-CIO merger from one who felt from the time when the unfortunate split took place that it could only weaken labor. As Former President of the California Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, I recognized that labor had to work together to achieve its basic aims. I am more than happy that these are now on the verge of accomplishment. Warmest fraternal greetings to Brothers Walter Reuther and George Meany and all those clear-thinking men who helped complete the merger. Best wishes for a long history and successful future which cannot help but have a positive effect on American life and legislation.

Congressman JACK SHELLEY.

December 5, 1955

Helena, Mont.

AFL-CIO Convention, Hotel Statler, New York.

Sincerest best wishes to all at your 1955 consolidation convention-meeting dedicated to happiness for young and old and designed to perpetuate our American way of life.

Your continuous services to the residents of your home state and your deep concern for the nation and its communities merits everlasting praise.

We are in an era of building, the best kind of building—the building of great humanitarian work for the benefit of our nation and with the definite objective of building human happiness.

Congratulations and keep up the good work.

Fraternally yours,

FRANK MURRAY,  
Clerk of Montana Supreme Court.

December 3, 1955

Harrisburg, Pa.

George Meany, President American Federation of Labor, Hotel Statler, N. Y.

Please accept my congratulations on the ratification by the American Federation of Labor of the merger by two great labor organizations into the AFL-CIO. Your decisive leadership has resulted in a long step forward in the annals of American labor. May I extend best wishes to you for a successful week of deliberations and for the many years of labor harmony ahead.

GEORGE M. LEADER,  
Governor of Pennsylvania.

December 2, 1955

Congress of the United States,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. George Meany and  
Mr. Walter P. Reuther,  
American Federation of Labor-  
Congress of Industrial Organizations,  
71st Regiment Armory,  
34th Street and Park Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

You both deserve the most hearty congratulations and the sincerest praise for your untiring efforts in consummating the historic merger of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

The high principles upon which your organization is based reflect the desires, aspirations and needs of many millions of working Americans. The realization of your objectives will do much to improve and better our American democratic heritage.

My congratulations and very best wishes to the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and to all your membership.

Sincerely yours,

IRWIN D. DAVIDSON, M.C.

Board of Social and Economic Relations,  
The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street,  
Chicago 11, Illinois, November 30, 1955

To the Uniting Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York, N. Y., December, 1955:

On this momentous occasion the Methodist Church through its official agency on economic life, the Board of Social and Economic Relations, sends greetings to all those assembled for this convention and to the two great movements uniting.

The Methodist Church greets you out of a long tradition of intimate relationship with the workers and their trade unions. We were one of the first churches to proclaim and to support officially the workers' right to organize for collective bargaining, to just wages, to fair working conditions, to periods of leisure, and to an equitable division of the product of industry. Many of our distinguished leaders have participated actively in the causes for which organized labor has struggled.

At this time of world crisis with its unusual opportunities for sound and courageous leadership we must all remind ourselves of the need for clear vision, sound judgment, and moral integrity in the formulation and administration of the policies of organizations

exercising great power and influence over the lives of people, the destiny of this continent, and the entire world. All of us in such positions need to place first importance on the general welfare.

Our fervent hope is that increasingly in harmony and courage we may all plan and work for the best life possible for people everywhere, to establish peace in the world, and to strengthen the moral and spiritual foundations upon which the United States and Canada are founded and continue to live and grow.

Be assured of our support of working people and their trade unions.

May the blessing of God Almighty be upon You, your deliberations, and your decisions.

LLOYD C. WICKE, Bishop of the Pittsburgh area and Chairman of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church.

A. DUDLEY WARD, Executive Secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church.

December 1, 1955

American Federation of Labor

AFL Building

Washington, D. C.

Very Honored Brothers:

We have sent the following telegram to the Unity Committee for the Merger Convention to be held in New York:

"Congress of American Federation of Labor and CIO, New York.

"The German Salaried Workers' Union (DAG) conveys to the Unity Committee of the two large North American trade union federations its best wishes for the Merger Congress starting December 5th in New York. After this important step the interests of the workers of the United States will certainly be even better represented than in the past. The DAG wishes fullest success.

German Salaried Workers' Union,

Executive Board,

RETTIG (President)."

Although we did not know an exact address, we sincerely hope that the telegram found its way to the convention's leaders.

With fraternal greetings,

Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft,

Executive Board,  
(WILHARM),  
General Secretary.

## INVITATION TO VISIT ISRAEL HEALTH EXHIBITION

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: The National Committee for Labor Israel extends an invitation to all delegates and guests of the Convention to see the exhibit of Kupat Holim which is touring this country from Israel. It can be seen at 214 West 57th Street (just off Broadway) any day except Saturday, between 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening.

Kupat Holim is the voluntary co-operative health program in which over 90 per cent of the wage earners and working people of Israel are enrolled. They operate 14 major hospitals and scores of health centers. It is the health branch of "Histadrut".

Let me repeat the address—214 West 57th Street, just off Broadway, between the hours of 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening, except Saturday.

## INVITATION TO VISIT THE SIDNEY HILLMAN HEALTH CENTER

Dr. Morris Brand, the Medical Director of the Sidney Hillman Health Center invites all delegates and their guests attending the Convention to visit the Health Center at 16 East 16th Street, between the hours of 10 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, any day during the Convention.

I repeat the address—16 East 16th Street, the Sidney Hillman Health Center.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I have a motion that the rules be suspended and the session adjourned until 9:30 A. M. tomorrow.

Hearing no objection, I declare the motion carried.

At 3:30 o'clock, P. M. the convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M., Tuesday, December 6, 1955.



# First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 6, 1955



## Report of

### SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Meany at 9:45 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The invocation this morning will be given by the Very Reverend Doctor James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, City of New York—Doctor Pike.

#### INVOCATION

**Very Reverend Doctor James A. Pike,  
Cathedral of St. John the Divine**

Let us pray. Almighty God, we yield Thee high praise and hearty thanks for the larger measure of unity, fellowship and effectiveness which has been wrought among the ranks of those who are the life blood of American industry, that our common cause and concern may better be served.

Inspire in all who labor and in those who serve a desire for unity and common allegiance to the causes of justice among men and an equitable distribution of those good things which Thou hast enabled us to bring to fruit. Enlarge our concerns beyond our own immediate ones. And, O, Thou who has created man in Thine own image, grant us grace fearlessly to work against evil wherever found and to make no

peace with oppression, and that we may reverently use our freedom and to employ it for the maintenance of men and nations.

O, Heavenly Father, Who declarest Thy glory and showest forth Thy handiwork in the heavens and the earth, deliver us in our several callings from the service of Mammon, that we may do the work which Thou givest us to do in truth, in beauty and in righteousness, with singleness of heart as Thy servants and for the benefit of our fellow men, for the sake of One who came among us as One to serve us—Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ—Amen.

#### Kohler Chorus Entertains

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time we are going to be entertained for a few moments by the Kohler Chorus, a group representing the workers who have been on strike for many, many months at the Kohler plant in Wisconsin. I would like to call on Secretary Mazey, of the Automobile Workers, to present this group—Secretary Mazey.

**SECRETARY MAZEY,** United Auto-

mobile Workers: Mr. President, for more than twenty months over 3,000 Kohler workers have been on strike against America's most anti-union company, the Kohler Company, Sheboygan, Wisconsin. The company has refused to grant the union the basic elementary rights that have been won by millions of workers all over our country. Our Union has not attempted to pioneer during this strike—we are merely trying to catch up with the conditions that workers have achieved in other plants through labor organization.

Twenty-one years ago the American Federation of Labor conducted a strike in this plant. The company broke the strike by killing two strikers and shooting forty-seven others in the back.

This has been a long struggle, one that I am sure we are going to win, because we have had the support of unions of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO. And I am confident that with an effective consumers' boycott, with the successful conclusion of the National Labor Relations Board Unfair Labor Practices case now in progress we will be able to win economic and social justice for the Kohler workers.

During this strike the Kohler workers have organized a chorus made up of Kohler strikers, their wives and daughters and members of the community—AFL and independent unions, and they are here with us this morning to sing a few songs. The first song they will sing is "We Shall Not Be Moved," followed by "Sixteen Ton." The third number will be "Your Land and My Land," and they will conclude with the presentation to us of the singing of "Solidarity."

The chorus is under the direction of a striker, a member of the Strike Committee, one of the 90 discharged officers of the strike, Brother Elmer Oskey. We will now hear from the Kohler Chorus.

The Kohler Chorus then sang the selections indicated by Secretary Mazey.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** May I, on behalf of this Convention express our thanks to this very fine choral group, and also express to them our wishes for a successful conclusion of this strike which has become a symbol in the midwestern part of our country of a bitter fight between a giant corporation and its workers. This to us could also be symbolic, and we should determine at this Convention that come what may these strikers shall not lose.

The Chair now recognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report of that Committee.

### REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

#### HOUSING

No material need of the average American family is more neglected

than housing. Despite our great resources and abundance of manpower and skill, our nation has been unable to produce enough housing to meet the pressing needs of millions of families.

Most low-income families and many middle-income families are forced to live in overcrowded, dilapidated slums located in blighted neighborhoods. Housing conditions of Negro and other minority families, who have been virtually barred from the market for new housing, are especially bad.

One-third of the nation is still ill-housed. More than 10,000,000 dwellings are so dilapidated that they should be torn down and some 5,000,000 more require major overhaul to make them fit places in which to live. Each year more homes are added to these categories than are torn down or adequately overhauled.

The housing industry and the present governmental housing programs have failed to meet this challenging situation. In fact, new housing construction, even though at near record levels, barely keeps pace with the formation of new families and other basic continuing needs. Despite billions of dollars of aids extended to the housing industry by the government each year through mortgage insurance, direct lending, slum clearance, land cost write-downs and other devices, no significant progress has been made toward increasing the supply of good housing. Unless the rate of housing construction is raised to at least 2 million units a year, millions of families will continue to be denied the opportunity to obtain decent homes. We will not achieve this goal unless a substantial proportion of the homes built are within the means of low and moderate income families.

In recent years the need for a comprehensive program to achieve the goal of good housing for every family has been increasingly recognized and accepted. Our nation cannot evade its responsibility for eradicating slums and slum conditions. Every American has the right to a genuine opportunity to obtain good housing in a good neighborhood.

The National Housing Conference for more than 20 years has made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American people by its efforts to win the support of national organizations, local citizen groups and governmental officials for effective measures to assure decent housing to every family. By its outstanding efforts in the fight for better housing the National Housing Conference merits the continued support of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

We believe the very foundations of our private enterprise system and our democratic way of life require that our people be properly housed. We believe this can be achieved in a manner fully consistent with our economic system; in fact, an adequate housing program will greatly enhance the basic strength of our economy; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** 1. Construction of two million new dwelling units a year should be the immediate objective of national policy and should form the basis of government programs.

2. In order to achieve the goal of



two million new housing units a year, a major portion of the new homes constructed should be constructed and marketed at costs within the reach of low and moderate income families with incomes below \$5,000 a year, most of whom are now priced out of the private housing market.

3. To meet the needs of our lowest income families, a large-scale low-rent public housing program is needed. Such housing is built and financed by private enterprise under a proven formula combining federal financial assistance with local community initiative. Public housing unquestionably offers the only effective means for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford. An adequate supply of low-rent public housing is an absolute prerequisite for effective slum clearance and urban redevelopment since no other sound method is available for rehousing the major portion of the slum dwellers.

The 1949 Housing Act provided for 135,000 new public housing units a year with Presidential discretion to increase the program to 200,000. The long delay in carrying out the program, the steady deterioration and expansion of the slums and the new urgencies created by redevelopment and other public improvement programs which have displaced large numbers of low-income families all require rapid completion of the \$10,000 unit goal set in 1949. Therefore, an annual rate of at least 200,000 new units a year should be established and achieved without further delay.

4. In recent years the living standards of millions of wage earning families have risen, but despite these income gains, most workers' families are unable to pay more than \$50 to \$80 a month toward housing expenses (including maintenance and utilities, taxes and all other costs). With rising incomes, the deep desire of workers' families for private home ownership has been reinforced, but it can be realized only if its cost can be reduced to a level moderate income families can afford. Therefore, a sound housing program must include as a major plank the means for meeting this growing demand for home ownership among moderate income families involving a total monthly housing cost which does not exceed 20 percent of family income. To achieve this end, we propose a program of low interest long-amortization loans for cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing for middle-income families, meeting adequate standards of construction, space and availability of community facilities and services. This program should include the following specific features:

(a) Mortgages should be made available to finance individual purchase, rental, or cooperative ownership of housing for moderate income families on a 40-year term with nominal down payments and at a rate of interest equal to the cost of money to the government plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent to cover administrative costs. (At present rates, this would total approximately 3 percent.)

(b) These liberal credit aids should be made available only for homes which are priced within the reach of the moderate income family and are well con-

structed and large enough for sound family living. To protect against abuse, the home must be finished and include all the features reasonably essential to good and proper living such as sewerage, basic landscaping, finished kitchens and basements or utility rooms, and other essential facilities.

(c) Cooperative housing should be especially encouraged. The credit aids set forth above as well as special technical assistance should be made available to cooperatives which offer a particularly effective means of bringing monthly costs within the reach of moderate income families.

(d) To assure success of this moderate income housing program, funds must be available. Experience has demonstrated that private banks, insurance companies and other mortgage lenders are reluctant to pioneer with new programs but embrace them once they have been proved practical through actual trial. This was true of the original FHA program itself.

Therefore, we propose that the Federal Government establish a National Mortgage Corporation to make funds available directly to initiate these programs through loans not to exceed four billion dollars a year. Since these loans will be secured by tangible and valuable real estate, they would result in no ultimate cost to the Government.

5. To provide moderate priced rental housing, much needed in virtually every city, we propose liberal aids to builders and operators who will construct suitable housing at rentals which are within the financial means of the moderate income family. Such housing should be placed under strict rent ceilings so that the liberal credit aids provided will actually benefit the tenant and not result in excessive profits.

6. The basic principles involved in providing urban housing for low and middle-income families should be applied to appropriate programs for farm housing and we stand ready to support proposals along such lines.

7. To enable families of moderate income to purchase homes on a sound basis, the Federal Government should establish a fund to insure against foreclosure in the event of illness, temporary unemployment, or other emergencies. The cost of such insurance should be added to the mortgage payment but should be set at a very reasonable figure so as not to make it prohibitive.

8. To protect the prevailing labor standards of building trades workers, payment of the prevailing wage should be required to all employees engaged in construction of housing under any program involving Federal financial assistance.

9. To halt the menacing spread of urban blight, we call for expansion of the urban redevelopment program with emphasis placed primarily upon slum clearance and genuine city rebuilding. Reliance should be placed upon less effective measures, such as "rehabilitation" and "conservation" only where clearly feasible and economical. All such programs in which the government is involved must be carried on with full consideration for the consumer; neither redevelopment nor rehabilitation must

be allowed to result in price increases which put the housing beyond the reach of the families who need good housing the most.

10. Because of reduced incomes and special needs, many of our older citizens are confronted with especially acute housing problems. Unfortunately, the needs of elderly couples and single individuals have been virtually ignored in existing housing programs. We recommend a special Federal program of housing for the elderly which would include:

(a) Authorization for annual construction of 50,000 units of public housing especially suited for the elderly.

(b) Federal assistance for construction of old age rest homes for elderly persons or couples needing or desiring institutional care.

11. One of the most pressing phases of the housing problem concerns minority families whose housing opportunities are restricted by the withholding of available land and by other forms of discrimination. We believe all housing built with the aid of Federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance should be made available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families. The Federal Government has a positive responsibility to see to it that an opportunity to obtain adequate housing is available to all families without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

12. To provide proper leadership and to assure adequate emphasis on housing and other urban problems in the conduct of our national affairs, we support the proposal that a Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs be added to the President's Cabinet with jurisdiction over all Federal programs affecting housing and urban affairs.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Community Services, as follows:

### COMMUNITY SERVICES

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor.

It is in this spirit that members of the AFL-CIO function first and foremost as citizens of their communities.

Further to encourage the active participation and total integration of union members and their families in community affairs, the AFL-CIO, by constitutional provision, has established a permanent national committee on community services.

The objectives of the AFL-CIO in the area of community organization for health, welfare and recreation shall be as follows:

1. Encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards and committees.

2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs.

3. Develop techniques and methods

to interpret for union members agency programs and practices.

4. Assist union members, their families and other citizens in time of need.

5. Plan for union participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs and operations.

6. Help in the development of health and welfare services, such as blood banks and multiple screening.

7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation wherever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services.

8. Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.

9. Participate in all genuine efforts designed to improve social work standards and practices; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO urges:

1. All national and international affiliates to establish community services departments with full-time staff wherever possible.

2. All state and city central bodies to establish community services committees with full-time staff wherever possible.

3. All local unions to establish community services committees.

4. All affiliates to extend full cooperation to the National Committee in the development of its policies and programs.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the report of the Committee on the very important subject of Community Services. The Chair recognizes Delegate Beirne, who will speak on the motion for the adoption of this report.

**DELEGATE BEIRNE,** Communications Workers: Mr. President, I would like to say but a few words in respect to the resolution before the Convention. This is a field wherein we can make a great contribution and do a bigger job in advancing the aims and the ideals of our organization. We have talked and we honestly believe that communism, for example, makes its biggest inroads in the thinking of people when it can talk to people whose stomachs are empty, whose houses are poor, who live in a country where disease and pestilence prevail.

I know that we have made great strides for the members of our unions in lifting up their standards of living, but we should not fool ourselves that no place in America is there poverty, is there want, or is there disease. Right here in New York City and in any large city in these United States we can find people, we can find families, we can find children who are in need. It becomes almost silly for us to think in terms of fighting this larger problem of communism while we neglect our own people in our own neighborhoods, in our own back yards, in our own nation.

Through community services work we have the opportunity to make a great contribution to furthering the needs, to advancing the standards of

those people who are our neighbors but who may not be members of our unions. We have an obligation to do this, and we should do it.

In the resolution we ask for every union within this great Federation to establish a Community Services Committee. In the Constitution of our organization we have given constitutional standing to our community services work. The Constitution and this resolution do not do the job. We need people from every union, from every local, to so integrate themselves in community affairs that we will make a truism of our slogan that "what is good for America is good for us."

This field is one that for years has been dominated. This is a field where labor has been rejected, where only recently we are accepted as a junior partner. Yet in this very last year labor throughout the United States opened up its heart, opened up its pocketbook and gave one-third of the dollars which were contributed to the Community Chest campaign. Because we have not integrated ourselves well we are considered junior partners even though we are the largest single contributors to the welfare of people in these United States.

We can only change that ourselves in our organization as we take to heart this resolution, appoint people, influence people to get into their communities and to honestly and conscientiously make it the best community in America, and as they integrate themselves to concentrate on the health needs, the welfare needs, the housing needs of their neighbors, of their friends in that community of theirs.

It is through this medium that our unions will be accepted, that our members will be accepted as first class citizens in these United States of ours; and it is in this method that we can make one of our great contributions to the overall welfare of the nation, and particularly to the welfare of those who are in need.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Is there any further discussion on the subject of community services and labor's place in the administration, sponsorship and operation of these services?

The motion is to adopt the Committee's report. Those who favor the motion signify by saying aye; contrary minded no.

It is carried, and so ordered.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### STATE ANTI-UNION LAWS

During the past two or three years, anti-union forces in this country have more and more concentrated their resources on lobbying anti-union laws through the legislatures of the various states. Typically these state laws make unlawful any and every sort of union security provision. Often these laws also impose other restrictions on unions and workers, such as prohibitions or restraints on strikes or picketing, or on the check-off of union dues. Invariably these laws, whatever their content, are mislabeled as "Right to

Work" laws; although they guarantee work to no one and in fact weaken the job security of workers.

These state anti-union laws have their genesis in Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—one of the most vicious provisions of that evil law. Although that law is supposed to lay down a national labor policy uniformly applicable in all states to industries which affect interstate commerce, Section 14(b) explicitly encourages states to pass anti-labor laws which go beyond the restrictions of Taft-Hartley. It does this by providing that state laws which are more restrictive of union security than the provisions of Taft-Hartley shall override Taft-Hartley, even as to interstate businesses. On the other hand, state laws which restrict union security less than does Taft-Hartley are superseded, as to interstate businesses, by Taft-Hartley.

As a result of this Taft-Hartley provision, of the anti-labor legislative atmosphere engendered by Taft-Hartley, and of the unscrupulous campaigns of employer lobbyists, numerous state legislatures have adopted anti-union-security laws during the last nine years.

Prior to 1946 elections, only one state, Florida, had outlawed the union shop. In 1947, the year Taft-Hartley was passed, 13 states adopted such laws. In 1949, two of these states, New Hampshire and Delaware, repealed their anti-union laws, and no additional states passed anti-union laws for several years.

However, since 1952 there has been a new rash of state anti-union laws. In 1953 Alabama passed such a law; in 1954, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana; and in 1955, Utah. During the same period unsuccessful attempts were made by reactionary employer interests to obtain the passage of these laws in numerous other States. Always these campaigns are accompanied by the most hypocritical propaganda and the most sordid pressures.

We commend the courageous action of the governor of Kansas in vetoing a "right-to-work" bill passed by the State legislature in 1955. In his veto message the governor said:

"This type of bill is not a solution to any labor-management problem in the State of Kansas. The name 'right-to-work' is a misnomer. House bill 30 has only one real purpose—to ultimately destroy both the right of labor to organize and the principle of collective bargaining. It will accomplish this purpose by prohibiting maintenance of membership in labor unions under state law."

At the present time, 18 states have anti-union-security laws in effect. They are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia. Each of these laws makes it unlawful for labor and management to include any sort of provision for union security in a collective bargaining agreement. Many of these state laws, as noted, also contain other broad restraints on union activities.

In addition the laws in several other states—Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—impose various lesser restrictions on union security agreements.

Further, in many states, local judges freely use the crippling labor injunction against unions. Sometimes these injunctions are supposedly based on these new state statutes, while at other times they rest simply on "judge made" law. Often they take the form of temporary restraining orders issued without notice to the union or any trial on the merits. Union-busting employers find in these state court injunctions a ready weapon to curb picketing and to break strikes.

Such state laws and judicial decrees are justified by their supporters by slogans like "right to work" or "States' rights". "States' rights" and "right to work" as thus used mean only one simple thing: the destruction of unions and the blocking of union organization, so that an employer will have unfettered discretion to hire and fire and can pay his workers less for the same work than organized workers are getting in other states; now therefore, be it

**RESOLVED.** The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight for the repeal of all state anti-labor laws, and for their replacement by legislation fairly protecting the basic rights of labor.

We will resolutely resist all attempts by reactionary employers to use state legislatures and courts to hamper unionization and to weaken unions.

We will press for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the report of the Committee on State Anti-Union Laws. The motion is to adopt.

At this time I would like to hold this question in abeyance because the time has arrived for one of our distinguished speakers and we can, of course, take this up and discuss it later in the morning session.

Will the Escort Committee kindly bring the Governor to the platform?

At this time Governor Averell Harriman was escorted to the speaker's rostrum.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time I am privileged to present to you a gentleman who has a long record as a conscientious public servant—wartime Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Secretary of Commerce during the days of the plan of action to rescue Europe from the economic doldrums when the Marshall Plan was being formulated, Special Ambassador to Europe in charge of the Economic Cooperation Administration in the dark days when Western Europe had to be saved from Communism. A man with a mature political understanding, an uncompromising fighter for freedom, a courageous, sane liberal, a great Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Averell Harriman.

## HONORABLE AVERELL HARRIMAN Governor of New York

Mr. President Secretary-Treasurer, officers, delegates to this convention, and all my friends: Well it's happened and it's a great day for American labor and a great day for our country. What is more you have done it in the right place, right here in New York State. It's right, not just because New York has more union members, some two and a quarter million; it is because the American labor movement was born, has grown, and flourished here.

Our State was the home of the beloved Samuel Gompers. And it's been the home of a man who was born on the East Side of Manhattan, raised in the Bronx, and now the whole town claims him. That is George Meany. To use an old Irish expression, George, "May the wind be always at your back."

There is another man here today who is an honorary citizen of New York for this week. Any time he wants to take out his final papers it will be O.K. with us, and that is Walter Reuther.

Coming to you today my mind turns back to many of my old friends and colleagues, men with whom I worked so long, and whom I would were here with us today. I speak of Bill Green and of Philip Murray. And yet I am sure that they are with us this morning in spirit. They did so much to make this day possible. In our hearts they will live on forever as our guide and inspiration.

It is fitting, too, that you should have picked New York, because New York State has led in producing the great friends of labor, and in laws to advance the welfare of the working man. And we feel that spirit here, too, with us this morning—Al Smith, Franklin Roosevelt, Senator Robert Wagner, and New York's former great Governor now fighting the good cause in the Senate, Herbert Lehman.

Seven years ago in Cincinnati Bill Green introduced me to the A. F. of L. convention. I still recall what he said, "Remember, you are among friends." And I have been greeted in that same way when I have spoken at conventions of the CIO. That is why I addressed you as my friends, and that is why I feel I am among friends this morning.

For more than 20 years I have had the privilege of being associated not only with Bill Green and Phil Murray, George Meany and Walter Reuther, but with many others of you here today. I wish I could mention each one of you by name. But as a former railroad man I have noticed an old friend of mine has been here, and that is W. P. Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, also H. E. Gilbert of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Does this mean that they are going to follow the example of George Harrison? Maybe that won't be a bad idea.

During all these years and in many ways we have worked together to promote the cause of freedom and the rights of man. We have fought together to create and carry out domestic and foreign policies that have had this underlying purpose: to bring more liberty, more security, more opportunity, and more dignity to all men everywhere.

That has been the common denominator of everything we have done together—at home and abroad—from the NRA to the Marshall Plan, from social security to Mutual Security and NATO.

And so I feel very much at home in talking with you this morning. No group in America has had a better understanding of the needs and aspirations of free men. No group has done more to combat communist subversion at home and abroad. No group has supported our government more forthrightly in its efforts to build a system of collective security in the free world. As an American, I am proud of your achievements.

The AFL-CIO now joined together is not just an addition of your separate strengths—it is a multiplication of your strength for carrying on those causes to which you are now rededicated. Your responsibilities are great, and so are your opportunities. I know that you are going to fulfill the great promise of this marriage.

Yet unhappily, there are people in high places who don't like your marriage. Of course, these are the same people who didn't like you when you were single. It's not like when people, disapproving of a marriage, shake their heads and say, "No, it won't last." What these enemies of American labor fear is that this marriage will last and that it will grow stronger in its bonds as time goes on. And at this very moment they are plotting and carrying on a powerful and systematic attack designed to weaken the influence of labor in American life.

This attack is a triple threat attack. In the Federal Government, they have packed the administrative agencies with men who are anti-labor. In the State legislatures they are turning out union-busting laws wherever they can under the guise of right-to-work. And then to make it impossible for labor to fight back, they are attempting to strip labor of its political rights, to split labor and the public, and to drive a wedge between the working man and labor leadership.

Who are the men who really carry weight in the Federal Administration, the Eisenhower Administration? They are not men like Marty Durkin, who is so much in our thoughts today. You know what happened to him when he tried to make good on the promises of President Eisenhower to labor which he made in the campaign. Of course there are still men in the Administration who have a sympathy for labor. But look behind the window dressing and whom do you see?

You see the man who, some years ago, because of his anti-labor record was chosen to make the wind-up speech in the House in behalf of the Taft-Hartley Bill. You will remember that as a measure even worse than the final Taft-Hartley Act. Who is he? The Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon.

And then we had Charlie "Bird Dog" Wilson.

And next, you see a man whose automobile agency in Oregon has been advertising for strike-breakers, as you

Machinists know. And that is the Secretary of Interior McKay.

We thought we had seen the end, my friends, of men being shot down on the picket line, but it happened again in these United States of ours, just a few weeks ago in Indiana. And who had been a principal officer in the company concerned before he was called to Washington? An Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Teetor.

Is it any wonder that the NLRB has been turned over to men with long anti-labor records? Or that these same men have tried to use the Taft-Hartley Act to bust unions, as they did a few days ago in the case of a UAW local in Indiana?

You remember what President Eisenhower himself said, that the law ought to be amended so that it could not be used to bust unions. But it hasn't been amended, and now his very own appointees are using it for that purpose. That certainly wasn't the interpretation of the law when there was another man living in the White House, and that is Harry Truman.

Now I want to make it very clear that I am not talking politics this morning. I am just talking about history.

I never thought we'd come back to the anti-union attitude that would permit a trade union to be prosecuted for interviewing a political candidate on a news program. Well, the U.A.W. was recently indicted for that—by action of the Attorney General of the United States.

And just the other day, the rise of the trade unions in the United States was compared to the rise of the Nazi party in Germany. And who do you suppose did that? He's the National Chairman of the "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners—dinners in honor of the President of the United States! I don't think any of you in this armory would want to sit at the same table with him, let alone pay one hundred dollars for that privilege.

Is Mr. Crawford so ignorant or so biased that he doesn't know that one of the strongest bulwarks both against communism and fascism has been free trade unions?

Now all of these men I have been talking about know that if labor can be stripped of its political rights, the economic rights of labor can be destroyed as well, and that is the motive behind what is going on today.

But we are not going to let them get away with it. We will never permit labor to be forced to sign a political yellow-dog contract. My party—perhaps you know what that is—may not represent the majority of the corporation presidents in this country, but we do represent the majority of the American people. And once the American people understand what is at stake they won't stand for what is going on, either.

We need more, not less, participation by working men and women in American political affairs. I hear that was challenged this morning in a newspaper by a prominent member of the Administration. You know and I know that there are a lot of things to be done.

We need more, not less, participation



by working men and women in American political affairs—because you and I know there are a lot of things to be done.

A fundamental thing we have to do is to continue to expand our economy. We have a growing labor force, with a rapidly increasing productivity, which will be still further heightened by automation. I am convinced we can—taking 1934 as a base—increase our total national output by 50 per cent in the next decade.

This is a glorious opportunity to improve living conditions for all of our people. And it is also a necessity. If we don't increase our total production and consumption at such a rate, we won't use all of our manpower—and that would mean built-in unemployment, with all the unhappy consequences.

To get this expansion, we must have wise and progressive national policies. It is up to labor to make its voice heard to make sure we have such policies.

And I congratulate those of you, your leaders who have been making that plain.

One thing we must do is see to it that every group in the population shares in our progress. It is your job to see that labor's ability to produce is paralleled by its ability to buy.

If we all don't advance together, then those that lag behind will drag down everybody else. And, right now, all groups are not advancing together. It is true big business is prospering at an all-time record, but small business is not prospering to the same degree. And some of them are in difficulty. Nor has labor progressed as rapidly, and the most serious, there are hard times again on the farms all over our country, and right here in New York State as well.

Farm income is over 25 per cent below three years ago. Now that is not right and it is a threat to the well-being of everybody else. This agricultural recession or depression, simply cannot be permitted to continue.

I salute organized labor for its understanding of this, and for the way it has been and is battling for the right of the American farmer to have his fair share. I only wish that others were as farsighted and as understanding as you men and women here.

We must identify the reasons why so many among us live in poverty and do something about it. Unhappily every fifth family in America has an income of less than \$2,000, and about half of these have less than \$1,000.

It is shameful that in the midst of our great prosperity there should be this misery. And since these people neither produce nor consume what they should, they are a drag on our national economy and progress. We have got to help them raise both their productive power and their incomes. As we do, we will eliminate a blight on our society and strengthen our whole economy.

I ask you men of organized labor to take an interest in the problems of labor that is not organized, and I am going to ask you to help me in that.

Here in New York the state administration is attacking this problem of poverty in all its forms. We intend to enlist the help of all organizations, public and private. Right here and now, I ask your help, and I know I am going to get it. But it can't be

done only at the state level; it has got to be done on a national level.

One line of attack is through minimum wages. Despite President Eisenhower's position that this prosperous economy of ours would be overburdened by a minimum higher than 90 cents, the Congress did raise the floor to \$1.00. Now that is improvement, yes, but it is not high enough. It ought to be raised to the figure I urged last year, and that was \$1.25. And the coverage of the law should be extended.

Our other security and labor legislation is far behind the needs of the day, and this goes for our housing problems also.

In employment insurance, it is time to take the best elements of the various state systems and incorporate them into national minimum standards. This would end the use of substandard unemployment benefits as a means of unfair competition among the states in attracting industry. And this should end the withholding of any compensation from those having annual wage benefits under collective agreement.

We need many other things: equitable retirement benefits for widows—better rehabilitation services for the handicapped—better education and training services—a national system of insurance for temporary disability, and retirement benefits for those permanently disabled.

The number of older people and their needs are growing. In New York, we have brought together the best thinking of our State on the problems of the aging in all their aspects.

Now we expect to get their recommendation shortly, and on that basis we are going to develop a program in this State which I hope will enlist everyone's cooperation. And here again in this I ask your help. I know many of you are as much concerned over these problems of the aged as I am. In fact, I want to tell you that I got started on this line because of the advice that I got from one of your members, Dave McDonald.

We all know we are way behind on education. It is a fundamental obligation of our society to see that every child has a fair and equal chance for a decent education. The future of our country depends upon it. To fulfill our obligation, we clearly need a program of Federal aid.

There is the problem of medical care. Surely we can find a way—with the help of our doctors—to see that good medical care is available to everyone, without the bankruptcy that now comes to many families when they are struck with catastrophic illness.

In all these ways, we've got to get out of the era of the Model T in our social thinking and catch up with our fast-moving economic development.

After the war, when free men needed help to rebuild their lives and to stem the advance of communism, you were there first. You sent a man I came to know and respect—Irving Brown. Later, when the Marshall Plan went into operation, you came in as full-fledged, full-time participants—helping to make and carry out American policy.

To this day, I doubt that most Americans have any idea of what we owe to those labor men who went abroad, and to the support we all got from American labor back home. They came from the A. F. of L., from the CIO, from the Brotherhoods, and became top members of my staff in Paris and of other missions. And I tell you that without their help the Marshall Plan would never have accomplished what it did to rebuild vitality and the conditions of freedom in the countries of Western Europe and prevent communist domination that otherwise would have been inevitable.

Free labor in all these countries was one of the strongest forces against communism. The backing of American free labor strengthened them immeasurably. And then you joined with free labor around the world in establishing the I.C.F.T.U.

I see representatives of many countries in this hall and some of them are very old friends of mine.

Of late, the free world has been losing ground in the struggle with communism, and I doubt that anyone knows this better than you. I am sure your colleagues in the I.C.F.T.U. have told you this week how much the unity and position of the free world have suffered recently—especially in the past three months.

Now, I want to make it clear that I believe our government should always be ready to negotiate at any level with the Kremlin leaders, providing we do not also let down our guard.

Unhappily, at the Conference of the Summit in Geneva, our President was quoted in the press as crediting the Russians today with no less a desire for peace than that of the West. As a consequence there occurred a psychological disarmament throughout the free world.

The President's statement of course was qualified afterwards, but unfortunately, the qualification did not eradicate the first impression.

It is a tragedy the President didn't do something else at this Conference. He mentioned, but he did not keep insisting that Stalin carry out his wartime agreements to permit free elections in Poland and Eastern Europe. That is a principle that we must always stand on, and that is a principle that we must always make clear to everyone in the world, that self-determination of nations is the basic principle of our foreign policy everywhere in the free world.

Well, at the Summit Conference the Kremlin achieved relaxation of tensions—and not just relaxation of tensions, but relaxation of effort. And they did not give in one inch to achieve these results.

George Meany pointed out bluntly last summer the dangers of accepting the so-called "Spirit of Geneva." I did the same while I was in Europe. We were not popular at the time. But the warning needed to be sounded, and it still needs to be heeded.

Three years ago, Soviet communist influence had been stopped and rolled back in Western Europe and in the Middle East. The Kremlin leaders admitted as much, even before Stalin died, at the Communist Party Congress in October, 1952. And at that time they

laid out new tactics—the tactics of 'peaceful co-existence.'

Since then the new group in the Kremlin, even though weakened by the death of Stalin, has carried out this policy with great shrewdness. I will repeat here what I have said before, and that is that at Geneva, and since Geneva, the Kremlin leaders have achieved a major political breakthrough.

We see it in the increasing difficulties in Western Germany and in the situation developing in Berlin. We see it in the intrusion of the Kremlin in the explosive situation in the Middle East. We see it in the fantastic tour of Khrushchev and Bulganin in India and Burma, where they are being hailed as the apostles of peace and human welfare. And what are they saying in Asia? Khrushchev, the new strong man of the Kremlin, has had the affrontery to hurl this accusation, and I quote, "The English, French and the Americans started the Second World War and sent new troops against our country—the troops of Hitlerite Germany." This uncouth man is the same Khrushchev who, we are told, is a man of good will.

The plain fact is that the Kremlin has breached the lines so carefully built in the alliance of free men. We must set about rebuilding these lines, and get in a position again to take the initiative.

There are many things we must do to rally and strengthen the free peoples. In addition to maintaining military defenses, we must identify ourselves with the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere. In many countries the communists have been more successful in doing this than we.

In this endeavor you have a vital role to play. You are in a position to bring effectively the American message to those who are desperately struggling to lift themselves out of poverty and to convince them that false promises of communism will bring them only a new bondage.

They need technical and economic assistance. But they need as well assistance in organizing and developing those institutions essential to free society.

You have already done much and I am grateful for what you have done; yet much more remains to be done in helping to organize and strengthen free labor movements everywhere.

We need a great remanufacturing of America's strength and will and want to bear down on this job of helping other people help themselves. This is more than philanthropy, it is more than an expression of brotherhood—although it would be justified for these purposes alone. It is a simple necessity for our own survival in the world struggle against communism.

All of these matters, foreign and domestic, affect the life of every trade union member and his family. It is labor's right—it is labor's obligation—to be heard on them. And from this week forward, labor united will speak out with a strong and clear voice.

Delegates to this convention, you have opened a new chapter in labor history—and in the story of our country. Let it be a glorious one!

May God bless your new enterprise;  
may God bless our country.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time Secretary Schnitzler will read a proclamation of the Governor of the State of New York designating this week, December 5 to 12, as Free Labor Week.

Secretary Schnitzler read the following:

**Proclamation by the State of  
New York from the Executive  
Chambers:**

"From the most distant corners of the world and from every part of the country men and women dedicated to the cause of free trade unionism will assemble in New York State to conduct the deliberations of utmost significance to the free world.

"During the first weeks of December delegates from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations will meet to merge their memberships into one body, thereby creating the largest democratic trade union organization in the world, free from government or political dictate.

"A few days later leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will meet in executive session to explore how best they can bring new hope through broadened opportunity to exploited and poverty-stricken workers all over the world. In Asia, Africa and Latin-America there is tremendous need to bring a greater measure of economic security to the workers and to encourage the economic advancement of whole nations. Thus can we best achieve a durable peace and resist the encroachment of free labor's greatest enemy, communist totalitarianism.

"Spokesmen for 54,500,000 workers from every part of the free world will make their headquarters in New York City during the meetings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. During the six years of its existence, the ICFTU has been devoted to the principles of human rights and democratic freedoms. Under its banner, men and women of many religious, social and economic trades are united in common faith, in political freedom and respect for human dignity.

"We Americans are proud that the AFL-CIO plays a leading role in the affairs of this world-wide organization. Our people are proud that New York State has been selected as the site of these historic sessions. Here free trade unionism was cradled. Here many of its leaders, some immigrants, some native born, rose to eminence in the councils of the nation. Here leaders of government chosen by the people brought new hope to the workers of this State through passage of pioneering social legislation.

"Yet despite this voluminous history of progress, we know that much remains to be done. A united labor movement can best work for the goals of free labor which encompass many of the goals of all our citizens.

"Now therefore, I, Averell Harriman,

Governor of the State of New York do hereby proclaim the week of December 5 to 12, 1955, as Free Labor Week in the State of New York and call upon our citizens to celebrate this momentous occasion by according full recognition to the achievements of free labor and the struggle for peace and the strengthening of our democratic freedoms.

"Given under my hand and privy seal of the State and the capital of the city of Albany, the 6th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1955, Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York."

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** In the name of all the delegates of this Convention and of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations I express to the Governor our sincere appreciation for his visit here this morning and for the very fine address he delivered, also his thoughtfulness in proclaiming this week when we are meeting here in the great City of New York, as Free Labor Week.

Thank you very much, Governor Harriman.

... At this time James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** For many years at conventions of the great labor federations of this country we have had the pleasure of having an address from the Secretary of our Department, a Department that was created more than 40 years ago to foster and improve the welfare and the interests of those who work for wages.

It is always a pleasure to have a representative of that Department with us. While we may have our criticisms and our differences, we must never forget that the Department of Labor is a Department dedicated to the interests of all workers and that the trade unions are the spokesmen for all workers and that this is our Department.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable James P. Mitchell.

**HONORABLE JAMES P. MITCHELL  
Secretary of Labor**

Mr. Meany, members of the Executive Council, distinguished guests, delegates to this Convention, ladies and gentlemen:

The merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is a high moment in American history.

I have no doubt that unity has been achieved. It will last. It will be a great force for good in the land.

Organized labor in America has passed an historic crossroad. I congratulate you as you move on to a new highway leading to loftier goals. And I congratulate all America which will benefit from the statesmanship of George Meany and Walter Reuther and the others who made the dream of unity come alive.

The world beyond our shores will also be affected by this achievement.



Even the blindest and most prejudiced antagonist of the free way of life has had to be witness to how leaders of American labor have ended their split. Those very labor leaders who are characterized in communist propaganda as tools of Wall Street have used free and uncoerced negotiations to immeasurably advance the interests of American workers. And the forces which today stand athwart the advance of communism and barbarism in the world have here in this hall had a victory. American labor will speak in one clear and mighty voice on behalf of freedom so that workers wherever they may be, even behind the Iron Curtain, will know that free labor has scored another victory.

As you know, I have always been in favor of the uniting of the A. F. of L. and the CIO. I have not hesitated to say so, both publicly and privately; to any rank-and-file union member I might meet at a local meeting or to the President of the United States. I have said it to businessmen, some of whom have expressed alarm and hostility about the merger. I have never flagged in my conviction that unity is in the broad public interest. In point of fact, I want to tell you here today that I am in favor of more unity.

I am delighted to note that the chief officers of two of the railroad brotherhoods are honored and interested guests at this convention. I hope that whatever differences that may exist between the AFL-CIO and the railroad brotherhoods can be composed, and that these great and venerable organizations will take their full and rightful place within the united labor movement.

There are many independent unions in the land, some of them large and powerful, some of them small and comparatively weak. I would hope that they, too, will find their place in this united labor movement, working as harmonious, cooperative partners with you.

I'm for unity all the way. And I predict that its great attractive force will eventually overcome those differences which now keep it from being fully complete.

To this audience, I could let that statement stand, unqualified. You know that when I talk about unity I mean the unity of legitimate, bona fide, American-minded unions. But because what I am saying here may be heard or read by others, I must make it explicit that I know that you want no fellowship with organized rackets or communist organizations which use, and thereby debase, the name of unionism. On the contrary, one of the virtues of unity as I see it, is that it will isolate, and I hope destroy, the leadership of those so-called unions which prey upon their members, employers, and the community. They exist and you know they exist for either the financial gain of dishonest and unscrupulous men or for the equally dishonest and unscrupulous ends of subversion.

The AFL-CIO must hold them deadly enemies.

Now, what are some of the things for which the increased strength of labor which unity brings should be used. It will surely bring the benefits and protection of unionism to more of our

working people. It will surely make clearer and more emphatic the voice of labor in the field of public affairs. I welcome both these developments. Both, if I may say so, will help me personally in my job and responsibilities. As your President has said, the law which establishes a Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, directs him to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners." As unionism penetrates into the lower-paid areas of our economy—into the South and into the sweated, exploited trades—it can very effectively "foster, promote, and develop" those interests which Federal law makes my concern.

I believe that the size of this great federation will make it able to do a more effective job in serving the welfare of its members and the nation as a whole, in bringing the benefits of trade unionism to those not now enjoying its protection and advantages, and in making for greater labor-management peace between responsible unions on the one hand and responsible management on the other.

I believe that labor's voice in public affairs should be heard loud and clear. I believe that as American citizens you have a duty and responsibility to make your voice heard.

The leaders of this organization have stated clearly that they do not intend to try to control the votes of union members. They have stated that labor does not intend to create a powerful economic pressure group or political pressure bloc. They intend instead to keep their members informed on all issues affecting the electorate, especially those affecting workers, so that workers can exercise their privilege and responsibility to participate freely in the Government of their country.

No one can object to that kind of political activity. Everyone should applaud and encourage that kind of political action.

And as united labor speaks out on public questions, I look for its continued support of the principles to which I have so long subscribed.

These principles constitute a philosophy which believes in a strong, united labor movement:

A philosophy which has brought an increase in the minimum wage;

Which has tried, so far unsuccessfully, to extend the coverage of the minimum wage to the millions who need it so desperately;

A philosophy which supported and secured an extension of unemployment insurance to 4 million more people and an extension of social security to 10 million more;

Which supported and worked for improvements in state workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and other labor standards laws; a philosophy, indeed, which obtained more action in this field than has occurred in 20 years;

It is a philosophy which supports the International Labor Organization as an instrument for raising the world's living standards; and eliminating forced labor.

A philosophy which cannot counte-

nance discrimination based on color, creed, or race;

And a philosophy which holds it a mistake for states to rush heedlessly into the passage of so-called "right-to-work" laws.

I look for your continued agreement with this philosophy.

How else do I look for important support from a united labor movement? I look for it in maintaining, extending and increasing our prosperity as a nation—a state of affairs in which the workers of America have a vital stake.

The situation which confronts your new organization is indeed very different from those hard days of the 1930's which I am sure you remember as clearly as I. Today, you emerge united after struggle, and you find yourself in a very different America.

It is an America where 65 million men and women have jobs;

It is an America where the average factory worker makes more money than ever before. And he is able to buy more for himself and his family than ever before because his pay check is not being reduced by inflation.

This is a stable America in which people are confident, industry expanding, production increasing; an America which for the first time in many years is operating on a sound fiscal basis with a balanced budget in clear sight.

In bulwarking our prosperity as a nation and ensuring that all of our people, the very humblest and weakest among them, enjoy its benefits, I believe very strongly labor-management relations play a large part. I look to the new unity in the labor movement to bring improvements in our union-management relations. If it does not, it will have failed to rise to what may very well be its greatest challenge.

I do not think that there is one man or woman in this hall who would not honestly agree that collective bargaining can be improved. The interesting thing is that if this were a meeting of the NAM or of the Chamber of Commerce there would be a similar unanimity.

The outsider might say, "That's of no consequence. Both the labor fellows and the industry fellows say they want to improve collective bargaining. But what they really mean is that they want to see it changed to their own advantage."

You know, I don't really think that is so.

I think, at bottom, both labor and industry want to see collective bargaining improved in precisely the same way and for precisely the same reasons. They want to see the end results of collective bargaining arrived at without the loss and waste of strikes and lockouts. They want to see the final agreements reached without bitter, wounding, acrimonious exchanges. They want to go on living together after negotiations are at last concluded with no aftermath of unsettled scores and railing resentments. I am talking, of course, about that ideal state to which both labor and management aspire. I am not so naive as to think that we will ever see the end of industrial disputes unless, Heaven forbid, we should abandon our freedom.

But I firmly believe that we can come

a lot closer to that ideal state now with a united labor movement. I think the assurance that unity was at hand made it possible for George Meany to speak on behalf of all labor for a "live-and-let-live" agreement with business. And I think the fact of that unity lends weight and seriousness to that proposal. I would hope that spokesmen for business and industry will respond to it in the same spirit.

But if they do not, I urge you to keep on trying. Keep on seeking and searching for ways to develop a broader base of understanding with American employers. And strive to make more fruitful your own day-to-day relations with those whose names are opposite yours on the contracts which establish the wages and working conditions for 15 million mighty important American men and women.

The taproots of the American Labor Movement reach back to colonial times. Even before we found unity as a nation, our forebears in this, our beloved land, banded together as journeymen and artisans for their own protection. Labor moves in that hallowed tradition which is the true American folkway as it grows firmer and more closely knit in unity. This, with God's will, has brought greatness to our country and hope to the world. Labor's unity will strengthen our concord as a people and weave us together even more surely than before.

Ladies and gentlemen, because of what I have heard in this hall this morning, I want to say, because I couldn't leave this platform without saying it, I couldn't leave this platform without indicating my feelings—I want to say to you that nothing, nothing in this world is more important than world peace. And I want to say to you that I have the honor and the privilege of working under the direction of a man who commanded your sons and your brothers and your husbands to victory in the greatest war in the world. And I want to say to you that this world knows that there is no other man in the world who has as intense a desire for peace as he, because he knows the horrors of war. And I want to say to you, please, please, let us not deter him, hamper him in his intense, continual quest for peace.

Mr. Meany, ladies and gentlemen, my very best wishes attend your endeavors here. May you mightily meet the needs of labor in the nation, as I know you will, with dedication, devotion, discretion and dispatch, and may you have a long and happy life.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** On behalf of this convention and all the delegates in attendance, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to Jim Mitchell for his visit here this morning and for the very instructive and interesting talk delivered to us. Thank you very much, Secretary Mitchell.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS ON STATE ANTI- UNION LAWS—(Continued)

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Now we will return to the order of business which

was interrupted to hear the addresses. The report of the Committee on State Anti-Union Laws was read to you and the motion is to adopt the report of that Committee. Is there discussion on his question?

**VICE PRESIDENT MACGOWAN:** Mr. Chairman and delegates, I want to consume just about two minutes to call your attention to one particular situation. As probably many of you know, our International Headquarters is located in the State of Kansas. We worked very closely with the Governor of Kansas, Fred Hall, in securing the veto to the Right-to-Work law which was passed by an overwhelming vote of the State Legislature. In doing so, he practically committed political suicide because all of the reactionary forces in the State of Kansas, well financed, well supplied with propaganda and perhaps supplied with a black bag, lined up the Legislature in support of this law. The Governor had the courage and fortitude to exercise his veto, which was very nearly overridden and was only sustained by a few votes in the Legislature.

I think the labor movement of America holds a very great obligation to the Governor of that State to see to it that he is renominated in the Republican primaries of Kansas next August. He needs a lot of help, and I hope that we will not give encouragement to the right-to-work advocates in other states by failing to bring about the renomination of Fred Hall next August.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Brother I. C. Welsted, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Virginia State Federation of Labor.

**DELEGATE WELSTED:** Mr. Chairman, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this Convention: I am from a state that is burdened with one of these Right-to-Work laws—in fact, not one but several—and I know the conditions down there. We are burdened with the law and we are harassed by certain political prostitutes who will wave the flag in one hand and cut democracy from ear to ear with the other.

We have a big job ahead. There is only one way to erase these laws from the books, and that is through political activity. In that connection we need the help of the International Unions that have membership in that state. We have checked the registry of the membership of many of these unions and we find that where the officers are active, where they are willing to get out and work, 80 to 90 percent of the membership are qualified voters. But we also find, if you please, that where the officers are not active less than 20 percent of the membership are qualified to vote. That is the reason we have these laws. We have got to let these fakers in politics know that America is the right way of life for us and we intend to defeat those persons who do not subscribe to the policy of the American way of life.

Those laws were not only passed to prevent organizations; they were also passed to prevent political action as well. I can cite an example in Virginia

where a group of 62 unions were organized recently by a union that is affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Upon investigation of those 62 adults living in Virginia who had just been organized, only two of them were qualified to vote. That is less than 2 percent of those workers who were qualified before they were organized.

The politicians in Virginia know that and they know if they get an active union with aggressive officers they are going to be taught political education and action and they don't want that. They don't want them in the State of Virginia. Our own Senator, if you please, Harry F. Byrd, was nominated by less than 18 percent of the adult population in the State of Virginia, and that is the reason you are harassed with him in Washington. Make no mistake about it, he has got a lot of power in the Southern group and he is using it against the International Unions in this organization.

I plead with the President and the officers of this great organization, that group that has been married and I hope will live happily together, to get more action in Virginia through the International Unions and assist the Virginia State Federation of Labor in its effort to have people become qualified voters and exercise their right of franchise and restore to Virginia the democracy our forefathers founded, but which has been destroyed by the use of reprehensible anti-labor laws and other things contrary to our American way of life. I will assure you that the International Unions will assist and we will welcome that assistance gladly and work with them in doing the job that lies ahead. Thank you very much.

... The motion to adopt the resolution on State Anti-Union Laws was seconded and carried unanimously.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** As I told you yesterday morning, there is a great interest in this convention on the part of workers all over the world. As an indication of that interest we have visitors here from practically every country in the free world representing the trade union groups in those countries. A number of these visitors are on the platform. I am going to ask them to come back on the platform this afternoon and I hope we have them all together at that time. At the beginning of the afternoon session I am going to ask them to stand so they can be identified and take bows so you know who they are as you meet them from time to time during this Convention.

#### Assistance to Kohler Strikers

I would also like to announce that the Kohler strikers who are represented here this morning by this very fine choral group could use some funds, if they are available, to assist them to carry out the strike. I would suggest that any International or local unions who are present give consideration upon their return to their offices to making some assistance available

to this group if they feel they can do so.

In addition, I have been asked by a number of delegates this morning if it would be possible for them to make personal contributions, so I have arranged for representatives of the strikers, some of the choral group, to be at the exits at the conclusion of this morning's session, with some waste paper baskets available, into which those who care to can drop some good, legal United States tender for the assistance of these strikers. Please make note of that fact when you leave the hall this morning.

There is great interest on the part of our friends in public life in this convention, and a number of them, of course, will from time to time drop in to see us.

At this time I would like to ask a very good friend of ours in the United States Senate who is on the platform to stand and take a bow: Senator Hubert Humphrey of the State of Minnesota.

## SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

### State of Minnesota

Thank you very much, Mr. Meany.

My good friends of the great new powerful and responsible labor movement of America, the AFL and CIO, this is going to be a short speech, believe me. I want to wish you the very, very best, and I want to congratulate and commend your leadership and the delegates in making this great unity of American organized labor a reality.

Believe me, friends, this is going to be good for America. Being good for America, it is going to be good for you. I am delighted.

I am looking forward to seeing all of you in many parts of America in the coming months. I think you may have some idea as to what I refer. I shall be around and I hope that we will have good days, good times, and that all of your efforts will be crowned with success. God bless you and more power to you.

... At 12:00 o'clock noon, under suspension of the rules, the Convention was recessed to reconvene at 2:30 P. M.

## SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:30 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for messages and announcements.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

#### UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D. C.

December 3, 1955

Messrs. George Meany and Walter Reuther

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations  
71st Regiment Armory  
34th and Park Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear George and Walter:

"I most keenly regret that I could not accept your invitation to participate in the historic deliberations of the American Labor Movement now going on in New York City. Hard as I tried, I could not rearrange my schedule so as to be in New York this week.

I need scarcely tell you that I rejoice greatly—as the whole nation should—that the 15 million members of the A. F. of L. and the CIO are now gathered into a single organization representing, with their families, more than a third of the people of our country.

Yet this merger marks not the summit of the growth of the American Labor Movement, but only a new beginning . . . a new opportunity to concentrate on the organization of the still unorganized. There is no more vital challenge than this one. Such organization will help give new impetus to our economy and bring social justice and a higher standard of living to hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens.

As separate organizations, your achievements have been monumental. This time of congratulation upon your merger is also an appropriate time to acknowledge the debt that our country owes to both the A. F. of L. and the CIO for their support of many vital causes which go far beyond the immediate concerns of simple trade unionism. Your organizations have been among the vital bulwarks of our democracy and among the most effective forces for an expanding and dynamic economy.

But the accomplishments of the past furnish only background for the challenge of the present. Our problems today are heavier, not lighter, than before. The threat from communism abroad and reaction at home grows greater, not less. The peace of the world, and the preservation of the United States as the world's fortress of freedom and justice are all at stake.

Our immediate and specific problems include: (1) the threat of those who would plunder our natural resources; (2) the threat of monopoly and the

stifling of our free, competitive enterprise system; (3) the continued denial of equal rights to some of our citizens, and (4) the uneven distribution of the benefits of prosperity among all sectors of our economy and among all our people.

These problems must be met and faced along with the great overriding problem of our very survival in this atomic age.

Yes, in one organization, under unified leadership, you now hold part of the fate of the nation and of the free world in your hands.

Doubled in strength, you are redoubled in responsibility. But I am confident that you will discharge this responsibility with dedication and distinction.

I am proud that my State is serving as host to your historic convention. Welcome and congratulations.

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert H. Lehman  
United States Senate."

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

May I offer congratulations on the merging of The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The union of these two should further the security and growth of our nation. The Navy appreciates the added potential such action can give our defense team.

CHARLES S. THOMAS,  
Secretary of the Navy.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

Mr. George Meany  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Navy extends congratulations and best wishes on this noteworthy occasion. The significant accomplishment in merging these two great organizations provides additional national strength in the preserving of our American ideals. I am sure that the historic record of teamwork between American Labor and the Navy in combatting the enemies of our nation will continue in greater measure than ever before.

ADMIRAL ARLEIGH BURKE,  
Cmm. Chief of Naval Operations.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

Mr. George Meany  
Statler Hotel

On the occasion of the merger of The American Federation of Labor and The Congress of Industrial Organizations I take this opportunity to extend the greetings of the Office of Naval Material. The contributions of labor unions and their members to the defense efforts are a matter of record. This continued teamwork will, I am confident, keep strong the nation's defenses and assure peace in the world.

VICE ADM. MURRAY ROYAR,  
Chief of Naval Material.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO  
71st Regiment Armory, N. Y.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hails the birth of the AFL-CIO as a propitious step toward industrial democracy. As the free world's largest and most powerful trade union movement, the AFL-CIO now has the opportunity to demonstrate to all the peoples of the world that American labor is united in support of our nation's democratic ideals of equality, freedom and justice for all, irrespective of race, color, religion or national origin. We in the NAACP are confident that you will insist upon and adhere to these principles within your ranks and invite you to join with us in the struggle to secure for all Americans the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution. As you enter this new era we congratulate you and assure you of our cooperation in our common cause of making our country a happy and prosperous land in which no man is favored or rejected by reason of such irrelevant considerations as race or religion or nationality.

ROY WILKINS,  
Executive Secretary

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America representing a million and a half Americans of Ukrainian descent of whom a preponderant majority are members of AFL-CIO extends its warmest congratulations to you upon election to the presidency of the largest free labor union in the world and sincerest well wishes of continued growth and success to the newly established organization which, like both its components in the past, will continue to work for the freedom of labor and the rights not only of labor but also of human beings and nations throughout the entire world until the threat of enslavement by the Russian Communist menace shall have been eliminated. We are with you and pledge our cooperation in all your noble undertakings.

STEPHEN J. JAREMA,  
Executive Director,  
Ukrainian Congress Committee of  
America.

December 5, 1955

SS Ancon,

AFL-CIO

71st Regiment Armory, New York

Congratulations on long awaited merger. May labor's highest expectations be fulfilled.

CREW, SS ANCON,  
NMU.

December 6, 1955

Detroit, Mich.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

As symbolized in the firm clasping of strong hands, which depicts the spirit of true union brotherhood the AFL-CIO today has successfully set the pattern for all to follow in the resolving of all grave and serious differences that may arise amongst men and even between nations the world over. As a visitor I have been privi-

leged throughout this great panorama to witness the unfolding of the most advanced program yet to be inaugurated in behalf of the people who toil for their existence. Therefore, in behalf of the union which I represent, may I extend to President George Meany, to Walter Reuther, to the officers and to the delegate assembled here sincere congratulations upon a job of far reaching magnitude that has been done well.

JAMES C. MCGAHEY, President,  
International Union, United Plant  
Guard Workers of America.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

Chairman, AFL-CIO Convention,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

Your unity convention is a happy day for all who have been associated with the labor movement. We have been proud of the fraternal relations toward ORT by the leaders and many affiliated unions of the AFL and CIO for many years. We are confident that the united family of labor will provide even greater opportunity for advancing the aim that ORT and labor share in common of working for higher living standards, improved quality of skills and greater opportunity for vocational education to peoples everywhere.

American Labor ORT.  
ADOLPH HELD, Chairman.

December 5, 1955

Miami Beach, Fla.

WILLIAM SCHNITZLER,  
Secretary-Treasurer of AFL-CIO,  
Dallas Room, Hotel Statler:

Congratulations on the merger of the AFL-CIO. This important event in the history of the American Trade Union Movement will guarantee the benefits thus far achieved as well as future gains to be made in the interest of the workers of America. With all good wishes for a successful convention. Fraternally and cordially yours.

Striking Members of Hotel Employees  
Union Local.

December 5, 1955

La Grange, Ill.

George Meany, President AFL-CIO Con-  
vention

The convention of the new united labor movement takes place upon the threshold of world shaping events. We have every confidence that the decision of the delegates will reflect the desires of the majority of the American people. On behalf of UAW-GM Sub Council 5, meeting in Hot Springs, Arkansas, we greet the delegates assembled at this historic convention.

HERMAN REBHAM, Secretary-Treas-  
urer, UAM-GM Sub Council 5.

December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

Greetings: The officers and members of the New York Photo-Engravers Union Number One of North America, assembled at a regular meeting of December 5, 1955 extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on this unique occasion of having your first convention as two great labor



organizations merged as one. Our earnest hope is that united labor of America, embodied in American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will soon become a medium in our country to better the lot of American wage earners and to guide their destinies for higher attainment. Sincerely and fraternally.

DENIS M. BURKE, President, New York Photo-Engravers Union Number One.

December 5, 1955

Port Au Prince

William Schnitzler,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York.

Sincere wishes for full success of AFL-CIO unity convention. Let us reaffirm faith in destiny of democratic trade unionism.

NATHANAEL MICHEL, General Secretary, National Labor Union of Haiti.

December 5, 1955

Washington, D. C.

American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York.

In the name of the International Peasant Union and the peasant movements of the captive European nations, we congratulate the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations upon the occasion of their union. We welcome this historically significant development as strengthening the forces of freedom, democracy, and social justice both nationally and internationally and look forward to fruitful cooperation on the international front in the fight for securing the freedom and independence of all nations as well as durable peace by defeating Soviet imperialism and any kind of human slavery.

DR. AUGUSTIN POPA,  
Acting President.

DR. GEORGE M. DIMITROV,  
Secretary-General.

December 5, 1955

Washington, D. C.

AFL-CIO Unity Committee,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

Unexpected circumstances have prevented me from participating in your historic meeting. Wish the new AFL-CIO Federation every success in its endeavor to improve labor conditions at home and abroad.

ABDEL RAOUF ABU ALAM,  
Labor Attache, Embassy of Egypt.

December 6, 1955

Washington, D. C.

George Meany, Pres., AFL-CIO,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on being unanimously elected first president of the AFL-CIO. The new Federation has my very best wishes for success. Best regards.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr., USS.

President George Meany  
American Federation of Labor  
Dear Brothers:

The Berlin free trade unionists heartily greet the merger action. We hope that through this action not only

your national aims will be promoted but that also the cause of peace and freedom in the entire world will be greatly served.

In brotherly solidarity

Ernst Scharnowski, Chairman  
Berlin Branch  
German Trade Union Federation  
(DGB)

To the Merger Congress of the CIO and the AFL

To the delegates of the Merger Congress I convey brotherly greetings and the wish that as a result of the actions of your convention an even greater epoch of the successful American labor history will be introduced which will serve as an example for the whole international trade union movement.

Hans John, First President  
Railway Workers Union of Germany

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Secretary Schnitzler read the following:

There will be a free showing of union films and filmstrips:

Tonight (Tuesday) at 7:30 o'clock—  
Second Floor Studio of ILGWU Building,  
1710 Broadway.

This is between 4th and 55th Streets.

All delegates are invited to attend.  
Department of Education  
American Federation of Labor and  
Congress of Industrial Organizations

## ESCORT COMMITTEES

President Meany announced the appointment of the following escort committees:

For Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, 10:30 a.m. Wednesday—Charles J. MacGowan, A. J. Hayes, Richard F. Walsh, Joseph Beirne, Joseph Childs.

For Rev. Father Raymond A. McGowan, 11:00 a.m. Wednesday—Michael Fox, James A. Brownlow, L. M. Raftery, John Grogan, John Brophy.

For Omer Becu, President, ICFTU, 11:30 a.m. Wednesday—C. J. Haggerty, Paul Phillips, James Sufridge, William Smallwood, Jacob Potofsky.

For Thurgood Marshall, General Counsel, 3:15 p.m. Wednesday—David Dubinsky, Arnold Zander, A. Philip Randolph, Emil Mazey, Willard Townsend.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

... Co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee read the resolution on Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB as follows:

### TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND THE NLRB

The Taft-Hartley Act has been law for over eight years. The stated policy of this Act, carried over from the Wagner Act, is to encourage the organization of workers into unions of their own choosing and to promote collective bar-



gaining. However, many of the detailed provisions of Taft-Hartley subvert these professed aims.

In actual operation, the Act has been used to block union organization, to weaken unions, and to interfere with free collective bargaining.

The organization of the unorganized has been grievously hampered. Prior to Taft-Hartley the percentage of organized workers in the economy was steadily increasing. Since Taft-Hartley this rate of increase has been greatly reduced, and two-thirds of the workers who are eligible for union membership remain unorganized today. By impeding the unionization of unorganized workers who stand in need of it, the Act threatens the standards of all organized labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act places serious restrictions on the rights to strike and to picket. Strikes or picketing for various purposes which were legal long before the Wagner Act are entirely prohibited by Taft-Hartley, and some strikes which are legal even under Taft-Hartley may be enjoined on the theory that they will create national emergencies.

The use of the labor injunction, which had been virtually stopped in the federal courts in 1932 by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, has been revived by Taft-Hartley. Under Taft-Hartley the government may seek an injunction in any unfair labor practice case prior to any hearing on the merits, and it is actually compelled by the Act to seek such injunctions in certain types of cases.

The Taft-Hartley Act injects the government into the writing of collective bargaining agreements. Under the Wagner Act unions and employers were generally free to make whatever collective bargaining contracts they thought appropriate. The Taft-Hartley Act, however, restricts the benefits unions may achieve through collective bargaining agreements in numerous respects including union security, welfare funds, check-off arrangements, strike notices, etc.

The Taft-Hartley Act itself places restrictions on union security arrangements which are wholly unworkable in industries with shifting employment patterns, such as construction, maritime trades, and the canning industry. In addition, by Section 14(b), it legalizes state anti-union-security laws, in defiance of the principle that national legislation normally overrides conflicting state laws.

A host of other restrictive provisions are also contained in the Act.

The vicious anti-labor character of Taft-Hartley was expressly recognized by President Eisenhower during the 1952 election campaign. At that time he made solemn promises to eliminate these provisions and bring about a fair law. Thus, in a speech to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the President stated:

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I." In this same speech he proclaimed:

"I will not support any amendments

which might weaken the rights of the working men and women."

He praised the Norris-LaGuardia Act which limited labor injunctions, and boasted that it was passed under a Republican Administration. He spoke out specifically on this subject, saying that injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike."

He spoke in defense of the right to strike, saying "there are some things worse, much worse, than strikes—one of them is the loss of freedom."

The President declared that he believed in strong unions, saying "weak unions cannot be responsible. This alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions."

He declaimed against the "heavy hand of Government intervention" in labor disputes and reaffirmed his faith in collective bargaining.

And the President expressed his complete confidence that the job of amending the Taft-Hartley Act "can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of labor will consider the results unreasonable."

Finally, he pledged "justice and fairness" in our labor relations laws.

After the election, unfortunately, these fine promises were ignored by the Administration.

In March 1953, the House and Senate Labor Committee commenced hearings on Taft-Hartley revision. These hearings were quite extensive; the House Committee hearings lasted from March until the middle of May, while the Senate hearings ran from the latter part of March into June. Numerous witnesses from the ranks of labor and management appeared before the committees, as well as many outside labor relations experts.

However, no one appeared to state to the Committees the notion of the Administration on Taft-Hartley revision. No witness appeared, no Presidential message was sent up, no Administration bill was introduced.

President Eisenhower had appointed as his Secretary of Labor, Martin P. Durkin, President of the Plumbers' and Pipe Fitters' Union, AFL. Mr. Durkin accepted the directive of President Eisenhower, issued shortly after the new Administration took office, to revise Taft-Hartley to eliminate its union-breaking provisions, and make it fair and just to labor. Month after month, Secretary Durkin labored to secure a fair implementation of the Administration's promises.

Finally, in the late summer of 1953, after detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower repudiated the proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act which the President had promised Mr. Durkin to support. Consequently and justifiably Mr. Durkin resigned.

During the whole of 1953 the Administration sent no communication to the Congress on Taft-Hartley revision. In January 1954, approximately one year late, President Eisenhower finally sent to Congress a message on Taft-Hartley revision.

The President's message to Congress on Taft-Hartley amendments and the

Implementing bill introduced by Senator Smith (R., N.J.), instead of liberalizing Taft-Hartley, proposed a few insubstantial improvements and offered new anti-labor provisions.

Far from honoring its pledge of justice and fairness, the Administration's program would not have rid the Taft-Hartley Act of its union-busting provisions. It would have retained the one-sided, anti-labor injunction along with other major anti-labor Taft-Hartley provisions.

It would have added a new and dangerous anti-labor measure on the pretext of protecting states' rights. This provision would have legalized state laws which, under the guise of dealing with local emergencies, prohibit strikes and provide for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Yet during the campaign, President Eisenhower declared against any trend toward compulsory arbitration in the field of labor-management relations.

In addition, the discredited strike vote procedure which had been proved useless in wartime was recommended by the Administration for insertion into the Act.

This anti-labor program of the Administration was rejected by the Senate in May 1954. During the year and a half since then, Congress, evenly divided, has held no further hearings on Taft-Hartley and the Administration has made no further proposals for its revision. The Taft-Hartley Act has remained unchanged on the statute books.

Though the language of Taft-Hartley has remained unchanged, its interpretation by the Labor Board has not. On numerous and important issues the new Board, a majority of whose members have been appointed by President Eisenhower, has overturned long established rulings, and given the Act a new, and almost always anti-labor, meaning. Indeed the Eisenhower appointees seem to have taken office with that end consciously in mind.

The Wagner Act had been in effect since 1935 and as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act since 1947. Interpretation placed on these laws over the years by the Board and courts had been reviewed by Congress on several occasions. Both before and after 1947, several bills which would have changed Board policies had been considered by Congress. Certain changes in Board policies, of course, were required by the Taft-Hartley Act. But aside from such changes, Congress had refused on a number of occasions since 1947 to require changes in other Board policies. This created the obvious implication that Congress had thereby given its approval to such other policies and intended them to be continued in effect.

The new Board members, appointed by President Eisenhower however, have until now not felt themselves bound by these policies of the old Board. In line with their prior pronouncements, they have proceeded to promulgate widespread anti-union changes in well-established policies covering a large number of important issues. They seem to have proceeded on the assumption that since they were appointed by a new Administration,

they had a license to overhaul any or all of the Board's policies. They have proceeded to imbue the Board with the employer-oriented interests of the new Administration.

It should also be borne in mind that the NLRB is supposed to be an independent agency, with quasi-judicial functions. Unless the Board and its staff can be free of influence or control, it cannot function in the independent and impartial manner required of a quasi-judicial agency. Clearly, the policy changes instituted by the new Board, in most instances over the opposition of one or both of the holdover members from the old Board, raise grave questions as to the independent, impartial, non-political and quasi-judicial status of the new Board.

Among these policy changes are the following:

(a) Jurisdiction: The new Board has drastically limited the establishments over which it will assert jurisdiction. This is legislation by administrative action, for proposals to diminish NLRB jurisdiction were rejected by Congress in 1954.

The result is to deny even the limited protection of the Act to millions of workers who previously were covered. These employees no longer will be protected by federal law against discriminatory discharges and other employer unfair labor practices. They will not be able to obtain NLRB elections to determine their bargaining agent. And most states do not have laws which at all protect the rights of labor.

Among the workers thus deprived of the protection of the federal Act are the great majority of those employed in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, service companies, and all small businesses even including defense plants.

(b) Employer "Free Speech": Under the guise of protecting free speech, the new Board has sanctioned employer statements of plainly coercive character. For example, an employer pre-election statement that if the union won the company "would be forced to move the plant" was held not to warrant setting aside the election; the statement was merely a "prophecy", not a "threat", and so was "not coercive". Similarly, a statement by a company lawyer that the company would not recognize the union even if it won the election was held to be simply a legitimate "expression of the employer's legal position".

(c) Captive Audience: It is no longer an unfair labor practice for an employer to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property without affording the union an opportunity to reply. Moreover, an election will now be upset only if the employer addressed the captive audience within 24 hours before the election.

(d) Majority Union Recognition: Another reversal of basic policy was made by the new Board when it held that an employer may refuse to accept a majority of signed membership cards as proof of a union's majority status. Employers are thus encouraged to re-

fuse recognition and to defer bargaining until the union goes through a formal Board election.

(e) Interrogating Workers: Under the old Board, there was a long-standing doctrine that it was intimidation and an unfair labor practice for an employer to question his employees about union membership and activities. Yet, fundamental as this doctrine was, it was overturned by the Administration majority of the new Board.

(f) Responsibility for Unlawful Strike: A new doctrine entailing extremely harsh consequences for innocent members of a union was enunciated by the new Board in a case involving the discharge of employees who did not participate in an illegal strike and who either reported for work or were ill. Despite their non-participation in the strike action, the new Board upheld the discharges.

It has also been held by the new Board that employees of one union, who respected the picket line of another union during a short "hit-and-run" strike, lost their protected status under the Act and were subject to discharge or other discipline. These employees, said the Board, forfeited their own protection under the Act by "joining" and "participating" in the unprotected strike of the other union. The Board thus struck at a vital artery of trade unionism because respect for a picket line is a fundamental obligation of union members.

(g) Implied No-Strike Clause: Under a recent doctrine of the new Board, a strike may not take place until the expiration or reopening date of a contract even though the 60-day notice required by Taft-Hartley has been given and elapsed and even though the contract does not contain a no-strike clause.

(h) "Hot Cargo" Clauses Unenforceable: It has long been the practice of various unions to seek the inclusion in collective bargaining agreements of provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle "hot goods". Until recently the Board regarded these clauses as valid and enforceable by strike or picketing, but the new Republican appointees have ruled that these clauses either are not valid at all or may not be enforced by the Union.

The foregoing are only some of the areas in which the Administration-dominated Board has established new policies. The anti-union nature of these policies is obvious on their face. Other additional examples of new policies might be cited. They, too, are almost uniformly detrimental to the rights of labor.

Despite the major stated purpose of the Act to encourage genuine collective bargaining through unions freely chosen by the workers, the Board appears to be doing everything in its power to impede these objectives. It has clearly acted to impose anti-labor restrictions beyond those required by Taft-Hartley; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1. The AFL-CIO will press for the elimination of the evils of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment of a sound and fair national

labor relations law based on the principles of the Wagner Act.

2. The AFL-CIO condemns the Administration for its failure to live up to its campaign promises to rid Taft-Hartley of its anti-labor provisions.

3. The AFL-CIO denounces the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board, and the unnecessary manner in which the Board has, in effect, been legislating by administrative action.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion for adoption of the resolution on Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on Collective Bargaining as follows:

### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Free collective bargaining through strong trade unions has provided working people with a meaningful voice in deciding the terms under which they work. It has functioned to translate the nation's potential for improvement into actual advances in working and living standards. It has thereby benefited immeasurably our nation as a whole.

Bargaining through trade unions has developed because individual workmen by themselves cannot bargain on an equal basis with their employers. It has grown despite only a slow and grudging acceptance by many employers and despite continued efforts of many other employers to do all in their power to resist it. We must do our best to assure its continued growth and to extend its benefits to the many workers still not represented by effective trade unions.

In a democratic nation it is appropriate that collective bargaining, free of government control, be encouraged and strengthened in place of unilateral determination by employers. For free collective bargaining is the most equitable means of deciding workers' wages, hours and working conditions, of assuring reasonable protection for the rights of workers against arbitrary and unjustly discriminatory employer actions, and of resolving the many individual human problems which arise in everyday work situations.

In addition to the moral and social need for adequate worker representation, collective bargaining is important as a significant force for strength and improvement in the American economy. As a major instrument through which trade unions succeed in raising wage levels, reducing hours of work, gaining health and pension protection, and otherwise advancing American standards of living, it has contributed heavily to the economic welfare not only of workers but of the general public and of business itself.

We must remain alert to the dangers of government domination. Government interference and control of union bargaining activities can alter the character and destroy the advantages of the collective bargaining process. Collective bargaining by unions and employers must remain free of government control to function most soundly and effectively as a basic bulwark of a free society.

The collective bargaining picture in the past year has seen significant forward strides in almost every industry in the land. Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the substantial wage increases and benefit improvements they have achieved. Their gains have served as a major factor contributing to the general economic upswing of the past year. Continued wage and benefit advances are now required to sustain continued economic growth in the year ahead; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to defend and nurture free collective bargaining as a major means in a democracy for gaining improved wages, hours, working conditions and job security for workers and thereby contributing to the well-being and advancement of the nation as a whole.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to fight for better wages, spurred by the knowledge that the nation's power to consume must keep pace with its growing power to produce. We will seek also in collective bargaining to reduce the workweek with no reduction in take-home pay; to provide greater protection for workers against the economic hazards of illness, old-age, and irregular employment through such programs as health and welfare plans, guaranteed employment plans, improved insurance and pension plans; to liberalize paid holiday and vacation provisions; and to improve working conditions. All of these measures are necessary basic elements in our efforts to gain continued improvement in American standards of living.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

### **DISTRESSED AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION**

Although production and employment reached record levels during 1955, many American communities failed to share in the general prosperity.

Of the 149 major labor market areas in the United States, 26 were classified last September by the U. S. Department of Labor as suffering from a substantial labor surplus. In addition, 94 smaller areas also had a substantial labor surplus, that is, 6 per cent or more of the total labor force was unemployed.

Even of more serious consequence, in many of these areas unemployment is not only high, in some cases in excess of 12 per cent, it also has been of long duration and no relief is expected in the foreseeable future. These are the "chronically distressed" areas and there are more than 50 of them in the United States.

The problem of chronic unemployment is not new. In the past it was largely associated with the gradual

decline of areas in which the depletion of minerals and other resources was occurring. Today, however, the causes are more complex and the impact upon the affected communities and upon the nation is far more severe.

In modern times technological innovation, shifting product demand, and changing competitive factors, as well as raw material exhaustion, lead to shutdowns and drastically reduced operations in many industries and in all parts of the country.

In a number of instances, the depressed areas are the result of the movement out of the locality of particular firms and industries. Upon investigation many of the affected unions have found that these migrating firms have left their locality not for sound economic reasons, but because of special financial inducements that were offered them in their new location.

These special attractions have been of two types: (a) special financial subsidies in the form of free plants or equipment, tax exemptions or payments, reduced utility rates, and the like, or (b) more concealed types of subsidies in the form of lower wage rates, open hostility to unionism, and a lower level of labor standards legislation. In effect, the use of these subsidies has seriously dislocated the nation's economy, caused widespread unemployment, and needlessly disrupted the pattern of industrial development.

The problem of chronic area unemployment predominates in, but it is not limited to, textile, coal mining, and railroad centers. Wherever and whenever a facility is closed or its output is sharply curtailed, and no alternative employment exists in the area, an economic calamity confronts the affected locality.

In earlier times communities were often forewarned of an impending employment decline by the visible exhaustion of natural resources. Furthermore, the affected populations were generally small and often transient.

The chronically distressed area of 1955, on the other hand, has at its center an established city of homes, churches, schools, hospitals, commercial structures, and all of the other facilities essential to urban living. For years, and sometimes generations, families have lived and worked there and invested their savings to create a modern community.

We cannot solve the surplus-labor problem of places like Lawrence, Terre Haute, Scranton, Charleston, Duluth, and Providence—or of substantially smaller ones—by telling the people to "pack up and go." The teacher, doctor, and storekeeper, as well as the wage earner, have deep roots in their home communities and a mass exodus is not the answer.

A valiant local effort has already been made by many stickery communities to find employment for their displaced workers. These local "bootstrap" operations, however, have seldom achieved their objective. Outside aid is clearly needed.

Surely the entire nation has a stake in helping the hundreds of thousands

of our fellow citizens who live in distressed areas. Americans have always had a reputation for their responsiveness to human need wherever it exists. Besides, the creation of suitable employment for displaced workers would add millions of dollars to our national output while, at the same time, millions would be saved by eliminating the social cost of idleness.

When Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946, it pledged all the resources of the federal government to the battle for maximum employment. In seeking to achieve this goal, surely the federal government must recognize and deal with unemployment as a local problem and not merely as a national one; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO calls upon the federal government to utilize all of its resources and to work unceasingly—in cooperation with labor, industry, the states, and the affected local governments—to alleviate chronic area unemployment in the United States.

Federal assistance should include the establishment of a central coordinating agency to assist distressed areas, and the inauguration of a comprehensive program of technical aid, public contract priorities, loans and tax amortization benefits for new and expanding enterprises, public works grants, vocational retraining and supplementary compensation for displaced workers. This program should be geared exclusively to the needs of substantial labor-surplus areas and its benefits must be specifically denied to any employer who undertakes to close or curtail his operations in one community in order to seek special advantages in another.

Furthermore, federal action is necessary to discourage plant piracy—a practice which leads to the creation of distressed communities. The most important first step to be taken is to remove the federal tax-exempt status that now applies to interest received from municipal bonds, the proceeds of which are used to build plants for runaway employers.

Additional federal and state legislation required to meet the problem of subsidized industrial migration includes an expanded Fair Labor Standards Act, a strengthened Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and improved state labor legislation.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** Your Committee recommends adoption, and I move its adoption.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Will the Escort Committee kindly bring Dr. Goldstein to the platform?

... At this time Dr. Israel Goldstein was escorted to the speaker's platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Unity Committee, acting in its capacity as an Arrangements Committee for this Convention, has scheduled short talks from representatives of the major religious faiths. Our movement in this country has always recognized the

necessity for Divine guidance and for cooperation between labor and religious groups.

In keeping with that arrangement of the Unity Committee, I am now proud to present to you the first of these speakers who will talk to us on the relation of religion to labor during the Convention. He is the President of the Albert Einstein Foundation for Higher Learning. He is one of the founders of Brandeis University, and since 1947 the President of the World Confederation of Zionists and the American Jewish Congress.

I take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you Rabbi Doctor Israel Goldstein of the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. Dr. Goldstein.

### **DOCTOR ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN** **Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun,** **New York**

President Meany, Vice-President Reuter, fellow Americans: I consider it a great compliment to have been invited to address this historic gathering. It is not unusual for me to officiate at unions and mergers between individuals of the opposite sex, but to have a part in a union and merger such as this is not an ordinary privilege. The traditional Jewish felicitation at a wedding ceremony, as some of you know, is "Mazel Tov", which means good luck and great success. So I wish this merger a hearty "Mazel Tov."

Having appeared on platforms of both the AFL and CIO, I flatter myself to believe that I am one of your many points of agreement. I use the plural pronoun generically to identify myself a Rabbi with members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy with whom I have shared the espousal of the cause of organized labor in its entirety.

I am confident that religious leadership in America welcomes this merger of the two labor giants. It regards this event not only as a great day for American labor but as a great day for America. It is nothing new that religious leadership and spokesmanship, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, regard the position of labor as one of the touchstones of American democracy. They have stood at labor's side in many a crucial test as far back as the 1920s, crucial years for the labor movement, when the steel industry and the railroads were shaken by industrial disputes. The churches and synagogues then and since have played a not unimportant part in educating public opinion on the merits and the principles of industrial democracy.

Speaking as a Rabbi I deem it appropriate to recall not only the Mosaic and Prophetic tradition of social justice which has served both as text and inspiration to generations of dedicated servants of humanity, but also the role of the Jew, long oppressed and underprivileged, a pioneer in the struggle for a better day for all men. The American labor movement, on this historic day, has reason to pay grateful tribute to the memories of Samuel Gompers and Sidney Hillman among the architects of our industrial democracy.



To say that labor is a bulwark of American democracy is as much an axiom as to say that the welfare of our nation depends on the welfare of the majority of its people. It is the same axiom put in other words. Yet it is the ironical paradox of history that the simple elementary truths have had the hardest time and have evoked the most violent resistance. A united labor movement will have a better chance to impact a few simple truths than a divided labor movement. This too is an axiom and it too has not had an easy time becoming recognized and accepted in the labor movement itself. Now that it has been learned may it never be unlearned. By the joining of forces, labor's power for good is not only increased but multiplied.

America has a tremendous stake in a labor movement that is strong, free and united. Being strong, labor will see to it that the gains which have been made are maintained and advanced. Labor conditions have reached a fairly high plateau, the result of more than two decades of continuous progress. But it is not a uniform plateau and it will not be straightened out until the reactionary Taft-Hartley law is revoked from the statute books and the phoney "Right to Work" laws—so called—have been exploded and punctured wherever they exist. Moreover the plateau is only a relative one, relative to the cost of living index. If the index rises the plateau must rise. Labor's concern is not merely one of self-interest, though self-interest is the natural and legitimate starting point for all human activities. But there is a difference between self-interest and selfish interest. There is a self-interest which fits into the public interest just as in a series of concentric circles the diameter of the inner circle is part of the diameter of the larger circle if the circles fit properly one into the other. On the other hand selfish interest is ready to disregard, defy and violate the interests of the community as a whole. I believe it can be said for organized labor which is here represented that it represents a socially conscious and a socially responsible force, that in times of crisis for the nation it has proved itself worthy of its power, and that its leaders, Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther and their associates, respectively, are not only industrial statesmen but leading American patriots.

The American people as a whole, however, must recognize that a nation's prosperity which is not based on a good living wage for labor is false prosperity because it lacks a broad consumer's base. It is encouraging to note that the great industrial corporations in America are risking huge expansion capital on this promise and that the general confidence in America's economic future rests on this proposition. The American public must also recognize that a nation's democracy which is not based on a free labor movement is neither genuine nor stable. Labor which is free will not tolerate any intrusion of totalitarianism in its ranks. The most reliable and the most effective force against Communism and against Fascism in America is not the coterie of cheap and vulgar patrioteers

who, under the guise of fighting Communism, would impair and even destroy our fundamental American freedoms. The most reliable and the most effective force against Communism in America is the labor movement. Being a school in self-government from the trade union local up, it is allergic to regimentation. Having brought the American worker the highest standard of living enjoyed by workers anywhere in the world, it is in a position to put forth the most convincing of all arguments, tangible results, under the American system of democracy. Thus, all in all, a united labor movement can be the most powerful single force for guiding and influencing the development of American democracy.

Permit me to say, however, that democracy, like charity, begins at home. Every group in American life which looks upon itself as a force for democracy must make certain that its own inner credentials are beyond cavil, not only because the instrument must partake of the character of the end which it proposes to serve, but also because democracy as a way of life, if taken seriously, should be a way of life on all levels of association. Therefore I am pleased to see in your constitution that while the preamble sets forth the larger, over-all aims to which your newly formed organization is dedicated, the statement of objects and principles in your constitution spells out larger, overall aims also in terms of the labor ranks themselves, "to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

To transform this principle into living reality in the thousands upon thousands of trade union locals throughout the country will not be an easy assignment.

I would like to interrupt to say that I am saying these things to you, not just pro forma. I am saying these things to you because I would like to listen to them, just as the organizations which I represent and have the honor to head listen very attentively to labor leaders who come to us to address us.

In some locals there may be resistance to the admission of members "without regard to race, creed, color or national origin", resistance reflecting environmental prejudices. This resistance must be resisted. To do otherwise would be a betrayal of the American labor movement which has a history of resistance to racial discrimination.

The trade union movement can do more. Just as it prevents employers from denying employment or advancement because of membership in a trade union, it can and should prevent employers from discrimination against trade union members and other employees on racial or religious grounds. Its weapon for this purpose is the anti-discrimination clause which some unions now insert as a matter of routine in every collective bargaining contract. This clause should become standard practice and the unions should see to it that it becomes as vital a part of the contract as clauses relating to wages, hours and working conditions.

At the same time the trade union movement as a whole must redouble its

efforts at every level of government to fight for non-discriminatory legislation, for Fair Employment Practice laws, against segregation and against every form of discrimination.

Recent excesses in some of the southern states present a particular challenge. Lynching, it is true, is no longer the problem it used to be but in its place another potent form of mob rule has appeared, the economic boycott imposed by so-called Citizens Councils. Labor has not only an American stake but also a labor stake in preventing these excesses. The same people who fire Negroes or deny them credit because they have signed a desegregation petition are also the ones who enlist the police to run a union organizer out of town or to hamstring an organizing campaign.

The most effective solution, of course, for the special problems in the South is simply to unionize its workers. Unionization of the South will do more than anything else I can think of, to elevate the moral standards of that region, to eliminate segregation, to end economic boycott and mob violence and what is perhaps the most important, to improve the quality of political representatives in the Government of the United States.

Another important area in which the labor movement can see to it that democracy begins at home is that of civil liberties. The labor movement has not done all that is within its power to do to protect its own members. There are many thousands of employees working for government contractors or employed as seamen and longshoremen, white collar workers, who are subjected to arbitrary security risks and are often discharged without a hearing on the basis of so-called confidential information, confidential because it cannot stand the light of day. Indeed there are efforts on foot in Congress to extend the security program to any industrial establishment which may be classified as a defense facility. If this trend continues, every trade unionist will soon have a dossier in the FBI files complete with his fingerprints, photograph and life history of himself and his close relatives. This device can be readily used for union busting. It must be resisted not for that reason alone but because on all fronts it is high time that the American people recovered its sanity without relaxing its vigilance.

It would be a healthy development if labor had a representation in the United States Commission which is looking into the security program.

I trust you do not mind this brief excursion into self-analysis focussing attention upon our inner promises.

For the accomplishment of all these objectives, a united labor movement can be incomparably more effective than a divided one. Two are not better than one if the two are two fractions of the same integer. One united whole is incomparably more effective than two divided parts.

There are also and more so broader promises of democracy which can be better served by an American labor movement that is strong, free and united. The extension of educational facilities, the expansion of slum clearance and government subsidized housing

projects, the improvement and the building of highways, the education of the public to demand honesty and efficiency in city, state and federal government, and the encouragement of the liberal trend in American political life, these are some of the national items to which the American labor movement must give effective support.

Permit me to single out for a special observation the present immigration policy of the United States. You should be congratulated for the stand you have taken before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization in urging an increase in the rigid numerical ceiling imposed by the McCarran-Walter Act. But labor must do more. It must speak out against the fundamental evil of this Act, the national origin quota system with its built-in racist discrimination principle which gives the right to entry into the United States, not on the basis of character, or technical skills, or family relationship to American citizens, but on the accident of place of birth. It brands the stamp of inferiority upon races from which a large segment of American labor stems and upon stock from which many of America's foremost citizens originate. Labor should lead in the fight to rescind the racist immigration law which is a blemish on America's credentials in the eyes of the civilized world.

In the international arena labor has shown a commendable increasing interest in the foreign policy of the United States. The forces of labor, like the forces of religion, are both by nature and experience international minded. Their contacts transcend national boundaries. Their vision is global. They are seasoned in international relations and their supreme goal is world peace. Long before the American people as a whole became aware of the sobering truth that in the age in which we live national isolationism is not only immoral but suicidal, the labor movement was practicing internationalism. It is not certain that the American people has been permanently cured of its isolationism. There are still rear-guard pockets of resistance to be found among segments of our population, which political demagogues may seek to exploit when the hour may seem to them to be opportune. The American labor movement will be found vigilant. The voice of labor, seasoned in international affairs, should carry weight in the councils of government, for it is the very nature of democracy that government should give heed to voices which represent huge constituencies of the American people.

Just now there is a pressing item on the international agenda in which there is at stake the future of the greatest little democracy on the face of the earth, Israel. It is the only true democracy in the Middle East as judged by the criteria of democracy as we know them, namely, universal suffrage, a free ballot, universal education, equality for women, respect for human rights, and above all a free strong labor movement. Eighty percent of the workers in Israel, including its Arab workers, belong to the Histadrut Israel Labor Federation. No other country in the Free World matches this record.

It is fitting that we here recall the



noble part which the American labor movement has had in winning American public opinion for the ideal and the reality of a Jewish state in Palestine, one of the foremost moral achievements of modern history, civilization's atonement for the Nazi genocide of six million Jews. The names of William Green and Philip Murray, of blessed memory, are enshrined in the hearts and on the soil of a grateful people.

Nothing that I can say about Israel could be more friendly than what has been said again and again by George Meany, Walter Reuther and other leaders of the American labor movement. This model industrial democracy is now endangered for its very life because of the hostility of the dictators of the neighboring Arab nations who tried in vain to destroy it at its birth, who hate its democracy and fear lest its example spill over to their domains. The hostility is not new. What is new is the shipment to Egypt of heavy arms supplies from Communist Czechoslovakia with the blessing of the Kremlin, which gives Egypt the military tools with which to implement its oft-declared vow to destroy Israel.

It would be expected that when Egypt gives the Communists a foothold in the Middle East, the United States, leader of the democracies, would come to the aid of its tiny sister democracy. It would be expected that America's desire to safeguard the peace and stability of the Middle East would impel our government to dull Egypt's appetite for attacking Israel, by making available to Israel arms to balance Egypt's and by stating quite bluntly—as I believe the American Government should state and as I trust you believe the American Government should state—that it will not permit aggression by any state against any other state in the Middle East. Yet up to the present time neither of these two essential steps have been promised by our Government.

Any talk of compromises or concessions is not the way to solve the problem. The immediate task for the United States, which has been checkmating the Communist moves in other parts of the world as part of its peace strategy, is to rectify the arms imbalance now existing against Israel and to state unequivocally that it will not permit Israel to be destroyed. Israel's ordeal is a reflection of the moral forces in the world, which, like the labor movement, appreciates the unique significance of the light which shines out of Zion and the Holy Land.

The international objectives, like the domestic ones, have much to gain from a united labor movement.

Being more secure in its internal condition as a result of this historic union, the American labor movement can march to its new goals with greater confidence. It will consolidate and secure its hard won gains, and it will win new gains not only for labor but also for the American people and beyond. This is your multiple and indivisible function.

There is also another aspect of our vision for the future with which I should like to close, an aspect not less relevant and even more decisive than

the economic aspect. I refer to the moral aspect.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills  
a prey

Where wealth accumulates and men  
decay."

Let our vision for America also encompass that other aspect. A nation as great as it is strong, whose affluence is matched by its character, a land whose shores contain an amalgam as an orchestra in which every racial strain and religious heritage lends unique enrichment, a people that still welcomes the stranger at the gate, a nation so confident of its democracy that it is not afraid to expose its mind to the free market of ideas, a land where the color of the skin no longer makes a man less or more than a man, a people seeking to win the world not alone with armaments and dollars but also with its ideas and human sympathy, a nation renewing its youth as an eagle, a land reclaiming its title as a new heaven and a new earth, a people under God whose children pronounce a three-fold benediction, once upon its past, once upon its present and once upon its future. To such a vision of America let us be dedicated.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that it is unnecessary for me to tell Dr. Goldstein of our feelings in regard to the visit and his very, very inspiring talk. I think you have done that by your response and by your rapt attention.

I merely want to express to him in your behalf our sincere and deep appreciation for his visit with us today and for the very, very interesting and inspiring talk which he has given you.

Thank you very much, Dr. Goldstein.

## INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present to you, so that you may see and know them, a number of visitors representing trade unions in various parts of the world. All of these men represent workers, some in very large numbers; others from smaller countries and smaller numbers. They all are united with the free American worker in the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and dedicated to the ideals and principles of a free labor movement. I will call their names one by one and ask them to step to the front of the platform.

J. H. Oldenbroek, Secretary General, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Omer Becu, President, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Dhyan Mungat, Secretary, Asian Regional Organization.

Mordecai Namir, Secretary General, General Federation of Jewish Labor in Israel.

T. Nishimaki, General Secretary, All-Japan Seamen's Union.

Gullo Pastore, Secretary General, Italian Confederation of Labor Unions.

P. B. Perez Salinas, President, Venezuelan Confederation of Labor in Exile.

Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary, British Trades Union Congress.

J. K. Tettezah, Acting General Secre-

tray, Gold Coast Trade Union Congress.  
F. L. Walcott, General Secretary, Barbados Workers' Union.

Nathan Bar-Yaacov, General Federation of Jewish Labor in Israel.

Robert Bothereau, President, General Confederation of Labor-Workers Force, France.

James Campbell, National Union of Railwaymen, England.

Giovanni Canini, Secretary Italian Confederation of Labor Unions.

Thomas Eccles, O. B. E., National Union of General and Municipal Workers, England.

Paul Finet, Vice President, Coal and Steel Community, Luxembourg.

Matthias Foehrer, Deputy Chairman, German Trade Union Federation.

C. J. Geddes, General Secretary, Union of Post Office Workers.

F. Bialis, International Free Trade Union Center in Exile.

Adolph Graedel, President, International Metal Workers Federation.

Arturo Jauregui, Acting Secretary General, Inter-American Regional Organization.

Claude Jodoin, President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Albin Karl, Vice-President, German Trade Union Federation.

Olavi Lindblom, General Secretary, Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions.

Louis Major, Secretary General, Belgian General Federation of Labor.

Albert E. Monk, President, Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Italo Viganesi, National Secretary of the Union of Italian Labor.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** These are our friends. There are several more who were here this morning, but I will present them to you at a later date.

I would like to give these visitors your assurance that they are welcome at this Convention. We are glad to have them here, and we hope they can stay through our sessions and that we can pledge to them and to free labor all over the world our continuing association and our continuing interest in their freedom as a sort of requirement, if you please, for the maintenance of our own freedom.

Let's give them a great, big hand.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom, who will continue the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM** submitted the following resolution:

#### ECONOMIC POLICY

The healthy functioning of our economic system is of paramount concern to American workers. Workers know that a high level of employment and a constantly improving standard of living cannot be achieved without a sound and growing economy. When the economic system falters, workers are the first to suffer from the cutbacks in production, resulting layoffs, and rising tide of unemployment.

Since World War II, the American

economy has shown an amazing vitality. Although our nation has had to absorb the impact of two recessions, in 1949 and 1954, neither of these temporary setbacks has led to a general catastrophe similar to that of the 1930s.

Organized labor is proud of the American economy and the role which unions have played in helping it achieve its present high level of production. By their pressure for improved wages, unions have succeeded in winning continuing advances in living standards for American workers. The nation's rising level of wages has contributed to the rapid expansion of workers' ability to buy the products of their labor.

Organized labor has likewise taken the lead in urging the Federal Government to assume a more positive responsibility for the nation's economic growth and stability. In the past 20 years, such government measures as those dealing with labor standards, taxation, social security, and housing, enacted at the urging of our labor movement, have introduced a greater degree of stability into our economic system. The passage of the Employment Act of 1946 providing for government efforts to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" and the acceptance by both political parties of the obligations imposed by this Act, testify to the significant change that has taken place in the Federal Government's role in economic affairs.

The economic situation we face today is quite different from that of a year ago. General economic activity has increased substantially since the fall of 1954, when increased consumer spending began to lift the levels of output and sales out of the recession. Trade union strength together with economic and social legislation, had helped reduce the impact of the 1954 downturn and has contributed to the improvement in economic conditions of the past year.

The nation's total production of goods and services has risen over 9% since the spring of 1954, when the low-point of the economic downturn was reached. This increase in output, one of the largest in recent years, stands as a concrete demonstration of the nation's capacity for continued economic growth.

A substantial expansion of consumer credit and mortgage debt, combined with a rise in inventories, have helped sustain the great advances in production and sales during the past year.

The gains of the 1955 recovery have not been distributed evenly among all groups in the population. Between the first nine months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10%. Compensation of employees has increased 6% in that period. Corporate profits, however, have risen 28% and stockholders' dividends, which increased during the downturn last year, have risen by 8%. Business failures among small businesses, for the most part—remain high.

The improvement in employment has lagged considerably behind the rise of total production. The number of non-farm jobs, in the third quarter of 1955, was still below the peak levels reached

in 1953, before the downturn started. Manufacturing jobs are still almost half a million below the 1953 level.

Despite the general improvement in economic activity, substantial unemployment has persisted in many communities, particularly those in which coal mining, textile manufacturing and railroad repair shops are located. Only a few days ago, the Labor Department reported that in 93 labor market areas, 6% or more of the labor force was unemployed.

The lag of employment behind the sharp increase in output during the past year reflects a substantial rise in productivity, which has tended to reduce production costs and to increase profit margins. In addition, during the year, several major sections of American industry seized the opportunity presented by the recovery in business conditions to raise prices of their products by an amount far higher than justified by increased costs. This failure by business to exercise reasonable restraint in setting prices can seriously endanger sound and balanced economic progress.

American corporations already have profited more than handsomely from the economic recovery. Corporate profits, after taxes, in the first nine months of 1955 were 28% greater than in the same period of last year. Dividend payments to stockholders, which were rising during the economic downturn in 1954, continue to increase at a marked rate.

Business failures, especially of smaller firms, however, have continued at surprisingly high levels, considering the overall prosperity of business enterprise. In September, there were 822 business failures, compared with 819 in the same month of 1954, 686 in September 1953, and 539 in September 1952.

With both the productivity and the size of the labor force rising, continued economic expansion is essential to attain full employment, production and purchasing power. While the economy as a whole is operating at a high level of activity, dangerous weaknesses in some of the economy's vital areas are discernible.

A major weakness in the current economic picture is the continuing decline in farm income. Net farm income in the first nine months of the year was 10% below the same period of 1954 and was at a yearly rate of 26% below 1951.

Some of the forces that lifted economic activity so sharply in the past year seem now to have slowed down. Residential construction, which remained strong during the 1954 downturn, and provided part of the basis for the 1955 pick-up, is leveling off. Automobile production in 1956, according to many observers, may decline by as much as 10% below 1955.

With the expected easing off of the rate of growth in automobiles and residential construction, other key areas must develop substantially to serve as a base for a continued upward impetus for the economy as a whole. No sector of the private economy appears ready to provide a stimulus of the magnitude offered by auto and residential construction in the past year. This gap in economic growth underlines the im-

portance of both private and government economic policy for the months ahead.

Unfortunately, there is a serious question whether the current policies of the federal government will produce conditions required to sustain economic growth in the months ahead. The Administration seems more interested in tilting with the windmill of inflation by increasing interest rates than it is in creating the environment necessary for economic expansion. While we recognize the monetary policy is a legitimate tool for stabilizing the economy, it is merely one among many weapons in the arsenal of economic programs. Moreover, unless used with extreme caution and precision timing, monetary measures can boomerang against the expansion of the economy and precipitate the economic decline they are intended to prevent. Thus, during the past summer the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration increased down payments and cut the time period for mortgage payments. This had the effect of reducing housing construction, particularly of lower-priced homes; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, In the coming months, both private and government action will be needed to maintain economic growth and to sustain full employment levels in the years ahead. Such action should include the following:

1. Free collective bargaining must be encouraged by the federal, state and local governments. Reasonable wage and fringe-benefit improvements should be agreed upon at the bargaining table to enable wage and salary earners to share adequately in the fruits of industrial progress. Wherever feasible, provisions such as guaranteed employment plans should be negotiated to promote stability of workers' incomes and to eliminate unnecessary fluctuations in employment.

2. The Federal Government's tax policy must be revised to strengthen consumer buying power, especially among low and middle income groups, and to eliminate tax law loopholes that grant special privileges to wealthy families and corporations. Tax revisions should be made as soon as possible. State and local tax systems should also be revised to establish tax structures based more largely upon ability to pay.

3. Low-income families—whose earnings are less than \$3,000 a year—require special attention. The federal legal minimum wage should be extended to millions of low-paid workers who now lack its protection, and the minimum rate, raised to \$1.00 an hour by the past session of Congress, should be further increased to at least \$1.25. The inadequate coverage and minimum wage standards under state laws should be improved without further delay.

4. Congress should enact a specific program of special assistance to areas of persistent economic distress. It is the obligation of the federal government to assist these areas back to economic health. The government should discourage the continued pirating of plants and job opportunities by

unscrupulous politicians and business associations—to prevent the spread of further distress in the older industrial centers.

5. The inadequate unemployment compensation system must be modernized. Congress and state legislatures must substantially increase both the amount and duration of unemployment compensation payments. Harsh disqualification provisions in the state laws must be removed.

6. The Social Security Act should be improved to raise old age and survivors' benefit payments to an adequate level of living requirements and to provide adequate protection against the hazards of long-term and temporary disability. A national health program should be adopted, including national health insurance as part of the social security system and with full reservation of free choice of doctors and patients.

7. Two million new housing units a year should become the national housing goal. Interest rates on home loans must be reduced to meet the housing needs of families whose earnings are between \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year. A government program is required to stimulate the construction of new housing for middle income groups. Public housing construction should be substantially increased to provide adequate housing for low-income families.

8. The continuing decline of farm income must be halted. Farm programs—such as price supports, conservation, low-cost credit and rural electrification and telephone service—should be improved to strengthen the income position of the family farmer, while making it possible to increase the consumption of agricultural products.

9. Low-interest loans, under liberal terms, are necessary to encourage business and farm investment, particularly for small businesses, as well as to sustain high levels of residential construction.

In addition, the Federal Government must make a major contribution to economic growth by reducing the backlog of pressing public needs. Public services have been in a state of neglect for many years, despite the need for continuing improvements and expansion to meet the needs of a growing population. The sad state of our schools, hospitals and roads, as well as other public service facilities, indicates the urgent requirement for a vast program of improvement and growth. The Federal Government should start on a program of expanded federal aid to education, health facilities and roads, through direct federal programs, as well as grants and loans to the states and local governments. Since many states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation should be adopted to enable the Federal Government to make special loans and grants to the states and local communities to get their much-needed programs under way. A public works program should be viewed as a continuing one, to keep the structure of society strong; in periods of economic decline, such programs should be accelerated without long delays.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued with the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

## TAXATION AND BUDGET POLICY

Tax policy becomes increasingly important as the federal government continues to assume a major role in the economic life of the country. Budget problems, as well as economic conditions, must be carefully considered in determining the composition of an adequate and equitable tax program. Our federal government has assumed perhaps the most serious domestic and foreign responsibilities in its history. Of necessity, the present requirements for heavy expenditures, in turn, mean a heavy burden of taxation must be borne by all the American people.

Organized labor recognizes the necessity for these high taxes. The nation's wage earners do not shirk their responsibility for paying their fair share of these taxes. They insist, however, that the nation's tax system as a whole must be fair and equitable to all, regardless of level or source of income.

Our tax system has been built largely upon the principle that taxes should be levied according to the individual's ability to pay. Organized labor fully supports this basic principle of taxation. In recent years, however, Congress has weakened the progressive character of the personal income tax schedule by enacting tax-escape provisions favoring certain groups of taxpayers.

The most flagrant example of tax legislation for special interest groups was the tax revision bill enacted in 1954. The most important effect of this legislation was to reduce taxes upon the very small minority of taxpayers who receive the overwhelming proportion of dividends from stocks. Taxes on corporations, for all practical purposes, were reduced without cutting the tax rates by altering the method of calculating depreciation. The few minor concessions granted to a few taxpayers in the low- and middle-income brackets were palliatives, which did not offset the billions of dollars of relief given to corporations and wealthy stockholders. Earlier this year, an unsuccessful effort was made in the Congress to reverse this trend.

Long-standing loopholes and escape clauses continue to weaken the progressive character of our tax structure. Wealthy taxpayers do not really pay the high tax rates applicable to their incomes because of these escape mechanisms. As a result, more and more of the burden of tax payments is placed on the shoulders of those least able to pay. The trend of weakening the progressive character of our tax structure must be reversed; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight vigorously

to reverse the trends toward regression in our tax structure. Equity in our tax structure requires certain tax changes. Some will increase revenue; others will mean a loss of revenue. But, on balance, the acceptance of the following tax program will not result in an overall loss in revenue, and will establish a more equitable distribution of the tax burden:

1. First priority on tax cuts should be given to the following measures:

a. Reduction in excise taxes below present levels

b. Increase in individual income tax exemptions from the present level of \$600 per person

c. Reduction in the 20 percent rate for at least part of the first \$2,000 of taxable income

2. Congress should continue for at least another year the corporate income tax rate of 52 percent, which is scheduled to revert to 47 percent on April 1, 1956. Consideration should be given to easing the tax burden on small business by some such means as changing the two component rates of the corporate tax structure. We now have a 30 percent normal rate and a 22 percent rate on all income above \$25,000. This provision could be changed by applying a normal rate of 25 percent and a 27 percent rate on all income above either the present exemption level of \$25,000 or perhaps even a \$50,000 or \$100,000 exemption level. The total rate would remain 52 percent, but it would be more equitable for small business.

3. To close the many loopholes and escape clauses in our tax structure and to obtain additional revenue, Congress should take the following steps:

a. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.

b. Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act.

c. Eliminate the advantage given married couples and heads of households by the income-splitting tax provision.

d. Repeal excessive depletion allowances.

e. Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing the rate considerably.

f. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest.

g. Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to reduce individual income taxes.

h. Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent the payment of taxes.

i. Tighten the estate and gift tax structure by eliminating life estate provisions and reducing the total level of exemptions.

j. Repeal the tax exempt status of state and local bonds.

k. Increase appropriations to permit stricter enforcement of our tax laws.

4. We oppose the enactment of any retail sales tax or any other type of

general or specific tax on consumption, including the "manufacturers' excise tax."

5. We oppose any Constitutional amendment designed to place a top limitation on the Federal Government's right to tax individuals, corporations or states.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Co-Secretary Soderstrom will continue the report.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

### STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on State and Local Taxes as follows:

The rapid rise in federal taxes over the last twenty years has focused the attention of most Americans on tax decisions made in Washington. The rapid increase in local and state expenditures emphasizes the need for adopting sound fiscal and tax policies in our state and local tax programs.

Since the end of World War II state and local tax collections have been rising continuously. From \$9 billions in 1945, they have soared to a total of more than \$23 billions in 1955. Total expenditures which approximated \$25 billions in 1953 are now close to \$30 billions. Moreover, current local and state tax revenues are inadequate to meet developing needs for services and facilities. State and local debt which stood at \$13.6 billions in 1946 now exceeds \$30 billions.

Furthermore, as federal tax collections within the last two years have been tending downward, the revenue needs of state and local governments have continued to go up. Vast unmet public needs for capital improvements, to meet the demands of not only a growing but shifting population, require a constant search for new tax sources by all state and local governments.

The rising burden of state and local taxes is increasingly being shifted to the shoulders of families with the least ability to pay. Families in the income groups below \$5,000 are paying a larger share of their income for local and state taxes than families in the income groups above that figure.

Under our federal tax structure, a substantial portion of revenue comes from progressive income taxes. Almost 60 per cent of all state tax revenues, on the other hand, comes from general and selective sales taxes imposed upon all consumers. On the local level, almost 90 per cent of the tax revenue comes from property levies. More and more municipalities are now instituting supplementary sales and payroll taxes which are combining to make the overall tax system even more regressive.

State and local difficulties in securing



necessary revenue have been complicated by the following factors:

1. The property tax has been permitted to disintegrate. A declining portion of total state and local taxes relative to income in most states from 1932 to 1950 has come from property taxes. More recent increases in property tax revenue during the past several years have been confined largely to a relatively few states.
2. The adoption of sales taxes and other consumer taxes have thrown a disproportionate share of the tax load on low income taxpayers.
3. With few exceptions, states have adopted inadequate personal and corporation income taxes.
4. State and local legal and constitutional restrictions on taxing power interfere with sound taxing policies.
5. The unrepresentative character of state legislatures prevent the enactment of needed constitutional and legislative tax changes.
6. The competition between states is used as an excuse to hold down taxes needed to provide necessary service.
7. Certain poorer states, largely because of inadequate resources and income, fail to provide needed state and local services.

The wage and salary earners of America have always borne a tremendous portion of the cost of public services. The fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO will gladly continue to bear their just share. We seek no tax avoidance for ourselves.

In the long run, at both federal and state levels all taxes must be paid from income. Progressive, graduated taxes—based on income after reasonable deductions for dependents and other legitimate reasons—must fairly reflect ability to pay.

Tax reform is a long and arduous task. The efforts to withstand the growth of sales and payroll taxes, to ultimately eliminate existing ones and to make our property tax systems more equitable, is a long range undertaking. Yet this is a duty the American Labor movement cannot ignore if social justice is to be achieved; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the AFL-CIO urges all of its affiliated unions to intensify their efforts to secure a more just and equitable system of taxation in all states and localities.

Enactment of tax measures and grant-in-aid programs at the national level are needed to develop a greater degree of local-state-federal coordination through the use of the federal taxing power and credit that is not available to states and local communities.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

## GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PROGRAMS

... Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution on Government Statistical Programs, as follows:

In collective bargaining negotiations and formulation of economic policies trade unions have increasingly turned to the statistical services of the federal government for information on wages, income levels, prices, profits, employment and unemployment, production, construction and housing developments, social security, productivity and a host of other economic trends.

Unfortunately, the federal agencies charged with providing these services are hampered by lack of sufficient funds. Therefore, they have often been unable to obtain and to make available to trade unions and other interested groups necessary statistical information.

Inadequate appropriations have particularly handicapped the U. S. Department of Labor, on which unions have relied most heavily for statistical information; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO recommends that the Congress appropriate increased funds to permit needed expansion of government statistical services, especially those carried on by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Bureau of the Census, the Social Security Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

We particularly hope that Congress will appropriate additional funds for the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics so that it can provide more complete information on employment and unemployment, wage and collective bargaining developments, productivity, housing and construction, and industrial accidents.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

## WAGE-HOUR AND WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts as follows:

Perhaps the outstanding achievement in domestic legislation of the first session of the 84th Congress was the increase in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The \$1.00 minimum was passed over the objections of the Administration and its spokesmen in both Houses of Congress.

It was not a complete victory. Organized labor, although very few organized workers in the country were in a position to gain directly, called upon the Congress to enact a \$1.25 minimum which was fully justified by increases in living costs, productivity and the general wage level. No action was taken in the last session to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the millions who are not now protected. The sub-minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico were left unchanged. Despite all this, the enactment of a \$1.00 minimum constitutes a major step forward.

In testimony presented to both Houses of Congress, AFL and CIO spokesmen called upon the Congress to take action which would bring the completely unrealistic minimum wage of 75 cents up to a more appropriate level.

President Meany, in presenting the AFL's case for a \$1.25 minimum, told the Congress that part of America's job "is to make sure that all Americans have a decent chance to share the abundance all of us are creating. We fail in this part of the job as long as the much-vaunted American standard of living is denied to any group of Americans."

President Reuther summarized the CIO's case for a \$1.25 minimum by declaring: "It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshop wages in an era of atomic energy and automation. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-rising consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

The Administration, which failed to make any recommendations in 1953 and 1954, finally endorsed an increase in the minimum—but to only 90 cents an hour. This would have done no more than adjust the 75-cent minimum for the increased cost of living since 1949. It would have meant no recognition of the tremendous productivity gains in the American economy and the general wage advances won by organized labor. Despite impressive evidence justifying a higher minimum, and despite improvement in the general economic picture during the course of the year, the Administration stood firm and did not yield from its 90-cent position.

The stubbornness of the Administration and the short-sighted belief of many Congressmen that a higher minimum would be harmful, made it impossible to reach labor's full objective. But enactment of the \$1.00 minimum, despite Administration opposition, is a tribute both to the leadership of the Congress and the tremendously effective work done by organized labor back home.

Unfortunately, no action was taken to extend the benefits of the law to workers now denied its protection. After the retail lobby testified before the Senate Labor Committee, the Administration withdrew even its inadequate proposal for extension of coverage which it had made earlier in the year. Under this proposal, less than 2 million employees working for interstate chain stores would have been brought under coverage. When the Administration pulled back from this modest proposal, it became impossible to obtain extension of coverage.

Less than one-half of the nation's wage earners are now given the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Individual states cannot prescribe adequate minimum wages for plants manufacturing for an interstate market without putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage. Only the Congress can take meaningful action in this field. In 1956, extension of coverage to millions of additional workers will be a major legislative objective of organized labor. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has promised that its Subcommittee on Labor, under the Chairmanship of Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), will hold early hearings on extension of coverage. It is hoped that the House Education and Labor Committee will take similar action.

Under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry committees determine individual rates for the respective industries. This practice has not worked well. Wide wage differentials have become wider year by year. To meet this situation, the Senate last year included in its bill a provision which would have raised all existing Puerto Rican rates by a modest amount. The House refused to take similar action and, as a result, the final bill did not raise the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. In 1956, it is to be hoped that the Congress will take the necessary action to lift the minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico to more realistic levels. The economic development of Puerto Rico must not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure.

Another year has passed without action being taken to correct the damage which has been done by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. It is this amendment which has prevented enforcement of the few wage determinations which have been made in recent years.

The Walsh-Healey Act should be amended: (1) to make clear the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis, (2) to make clear the application of the Act to all articles actually purchased by the government on specific contracts, whether or not available in the open market, and (3) to revise the Fulbright Amendment to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

With the increase in the minimum wage, it becomes particularly essential that the Labor Department be given adequate appropriations for careful enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as the Walsh-Healey Act.

Dramatic advances in improved technology, such as automation and atomic energy, have meant and will continue to mean tremendous increases in productivity. These advances make it both economically feasible and desirable to consider the reduction of the work week. The Congress should give the earliest possible consideration to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for a shorter work week; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1. International unions, state bodies and local organizations are commended for the effective work done in the past year to assure the enactment of the \$1.00 per hour minimum wage.

2. Congress is called upon to take further action to improve our wage laws. Specifically, we call upon it:

a. As a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.

b. To increase Puerto Rican wage rates promptly and substantially so that the mainland level may be achieved at the earliest possible date.

c. To raise the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour as soon as practicable.

d. To revise the Public Contracts Act, to restore that Act's effectiveness and utility.

e. To provide adequate funds for the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.

f. To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contracts Act to provide for a shorter work week.



**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee's report.  
 . . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

### INTRODUCTION OF DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time I wish to interrupt the work of the Resolutions Committee for a few brief moments so that I can present to this Convention one who is going to have a very important assignment in the work of this Federation in the future. The job of organizing the unorganized, the job of servicing the organized, especially in the smaller unions, reposes in the Department of Organization.

I would like to present to you now the gentleman who is going to take on that responsibility. He has been appointed and approved by the Executive Council as the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. I would like to present him to you now—Brother John W. Livingston of the Auto Workers.

#### MR. JOHN W. LIVINGSTON Director of Organization

President Meany, members of the Executive Council, delegates to this great Convention, and friends:

First I want to express my appreciation of the opportunity granted me to serve in the capacity of Director of Organization. It will be with a great deal of sadness, immediately upon the recessing of this session, that I shall submit my resignation as Vice President of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, in order that I might have the necessary time to devote to this assignment.

I am sure that all of you realize, as I do, that it will take some time to put into effect our new organizational procedures, to outline the various organizational projects, but I can and do give you this pledge, that we will work at this job untiringly and continue to increase our ranks of membership.

We expect at all times to advance and promote organizational drives throughout the land, and we expect to call upon national and international unions to advance and promote organizational drives where they are not doing so at this time. We expect to ask those national and international unions that have drives under way in high gear at the present time to put those organizational drives in overdrive.

Without question, when any union stops organizing the unorganized, just as sure as we are assembled in this great Convention that union will die of dry rot. Organizing of the unorganized is the very life blood of any union, and we must continue to organize the unorganized.

We fully realize that in many of the areas huge new modern plants are now being erected, and the most modern machinery is being placed in those plants. Non-union members are being hired to operate those plants at low-

wage scales. We say those unorganized workers have economic ills at this time, and they are also undermining the wages and working conditions of the organized workers. So we say their problem is our problem, and it is our duty and our responsibility to help them to become members of organized labor.

During this Convention we will undoubtedly adopt resolutions on organizing the unorganized, but may I say that we must do more than just adopt resolutions. When we return to our respective communities we should consider it our duty and our responsibility to carry the message to unorganized workers wherever they may be—in the mines, in the factories, the mills, the trades, the crafts, the office workers, the salesrooms, the white collar groups in general. We must extend them an invitation to come on in and join our ranks.

Often we speak of the brotherhood of man. I ask this question: What in reality can we do to further promote the brotherhood of man than to bring organization to those unorganized people?

So let me say in conclusion, because I do expect to have further discussion when the organization resolutions are presented, that as we go back to our respective communities we keep in mind the saying of the Good Book—to unite and multiply, and let us be wise and organize. Do that as never before and show to the people throughout the land that there is teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in the ranks, and we cannot fail.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you very much, Brother Livingston.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

#### PUERTO RICO

In recent years the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has striven diligently to bring about the rapid industrialization of the island. To this end the Puerto Rican government has offered numerous inducements to businessmen to establish new industries in Puerto Rico or to transfer mainland industries to Puerto Rico. These inducements include government loans, training of workers, and exemptions from various taxes, including Federal taxes, for a period of ten years. This industrialization program has met with considerable success.

Certainly the industrialization of Puerto Rico is a necessary and desirable objective. Industrialization would give employment to the island's abundant labor force, which has suffered acutely from unemployment and from under-employment. Further, the people of Puerto Rico cannot prosper while tied to an economy dominated by a handful of industries—sugar, coffee and tobacco—particularly since these indus-

tries are basically agricultural in a land-poor area.

We therefore support the industrialization of Puerto Rico, and the establishment of new industries there. We vigorously condemn, however, the luring of

3. We urge that unemployment in mainland industries to Puerto Rico by means of the low wage structure prevailing there or of unsound financial subsidies. Moreover, the removal of mainland industries to Puerto Rico brings hardship and unemployment to the areas of this country abandoned by these industries.

Further, industrialization will not of itself produce the needed improvement in the living standards of the Puerto Rican people, unless industrial development is accompanied by corresponding improvement in the wages, working conditions, and security of the Puerto Rican workers. An industrialization that brings new wealth to those already wealthy and continued poverty and insecurity to those already poor does not represent progress for the workers of Puerto Rico.

Two steps must be taken to raise Puerto Rican living standards, both in the interests of the workers of Puerto Rico and to protect mainland industry from unfair sweatshop competition.

First, the workers of Puerto Rico must be organized into strong unions. The labor laws of Puerto Rico are for the most part fair and progressive, and the workers of Puerto Rico have made some progress in forming unions and in bargaining collectively. But much remains to be done. The bulk of the island's workers are still unorganized. They need and are entitled to receive our help.

Second, Federal legislation affecting the living standards and security of Puerto Rican workers must be improved. Most important is the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. On the mainland the antiquated 75-cent minimum hourly rate was recently raised to a dollar an hour. In Puerto Rico, however, not even the old 75-cent minimum rate applies to all industry. Under a special industry committee procedure established by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates far below 75 cents an hour for various Puerto Rican industries. The Puerto Rican minimum wage must be brought as rapidly as possible to the same level as the mainland minimum wage. Otherwise Puerto Rican workers will continue to be denied the minimum income necessary for decent subsistence, and mainland industries will continue to be subjected to unfair sweatshop competition.

Further, there is no system of unemployment benefits in effect in Puerto Rico. For Puerto Rican workers the loss of a job means complete destitution. The extension of unemployment benefits for Puerto Rican workers would be a substantial contribution to reducing the hardship unemployment now brings to them, and would aid in achieving a high standard of living for the island; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. The AFL-CIO pledges to the workers of Puerto Rico that it will

expend every effort to bring to them the benefits of militant and democratic trade unionism.

2. We urge immediate revision of the minimum wage law provisions applicable to Puerto Rico, with the objective of raising the Puerto Rican minimum wage to the mainland level at the earliest possible date.

3. We call on the government of Puerto Rico to institute policies that will assure to the workers of Puerto Rico their rightful share in the benefits of the island's industrialization, and that will prevent unscrupulous employers from establishing sweatshop operations there.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee Co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### WOMEN WORKERS

Millions of working women are members of unions represented in this Convention, and both the AFL and CIO have long fought for equal treatment of women. Our women members have fully demonstrated their firm devotion to the principles of unionism, and have contributed immeasurably to the many improvements obtained by the labor movement through collective bargaining, community activities, and political action.

Women now constitute one-third of the labor force, many of whom are employed in occupations and industries which have not had the benefits of unionism and where low wages, inadequate security and substandard conditions of work prevail.

Under such conditions, unions are essential for the advancement of economic conditions and human dignity, and we urge these women to enroll in our federation to gain for themselves high living standards and greater dignity in their work.

In the past, our affiliates have supported many types of labor legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such legislation has reinforced collective bargaining advances and has paved the way for laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act which give similar protection to men. However, even today in many states labor laws designed to protect women, or both men and women, are still inadequate or altogether absent.

These protective labor laws continue to be threatened by the mis-called "Equal Rights Amendment," which organized labor has opposed. While presumably designed to give women rights equal with men, this amendment is so worded that it would place in jeopardy all the many state laws which now offer protection to women against substandard wages, hours and working conditions. Organized labor has taken the leadership in opposing this amendment which is also opposed by a large number of women's organizations as well as the U. S. Department of Labor

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work has long been a fundamental objective of organized labor. Special efforts have been made both by collective bargaining and by legislation to achieve this objective; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, This Convention of the AFL-CIO urges our officers and our affiliates to continue working to advance the conditions of working women through collective bargaining and by the passage of federal and state legislation.

While we shall continue union efforts to increase the earning capacity of all workers so that wives and mothers are not driven into the labor market by substandard family incomes, we recognize that increasing numbers of women are seeking jobs in order to obtain more adequate family living levels and to contribute to community affairs. We support programs that make it easier for women to earn a living without endangering their own health or the welfare of their families.

We support elimination of restrictions on women's rights as citizens and property owners. We oppose the mis-called "Equal Rights Amendment," which would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

We recommend that the officers of the federation study bill H. R. 6503 providing equal pay for comparable work with a view to taking whatever action seems appropriate.

We urge our officers and our affiliates to continue traditional union efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community, and to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts providing equal treatment in pay, hiring, upgrading, training, lay-offs, or similar procedures.

We urge that the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor consider the advancement of the welfare of women in industry its first objective, as provided by law, and that the Bureau receive adequate funds to expand its work for this purpose and for constructive education on women's rights.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution on behalf of the Committee:

### **WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES**

The Women's Auxiliaries have, through their educational programs, acquainted the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our union members with the history and goals of our labor unions. They have staged union label campaigns, contests, and exhibits promoting the union label and have issued a directory of union made products.

They have worked for the election of candidates favorable to labor by registering the unregistered, forming telephone brigades, doing the necessary clerical

work, plus any other duties assigned to them.

The Auxiliaries, by staging demonstrations and by boycotting products of companies during labor disputes, have assisted the unions in their successful settlement of these disputes.

The Auxiliaries have provided a well-balanced recreation program for the union members and their families.

The Auxiliaries have been exceedingly active in the various community drives, assisting not only in a monetary way but also by donating their personal services on a year-around basis. They serve on community boards and act as community counsellors to our union members.

They have also been active in the civil defense program by serving as block wardens and members of the Ground Observer Corps; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, This convention wholeheartedly supports the activities of the Women's Auxiliaries and hereby pledges their assistance in helping them to carry out their program.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

### **BACKDROP**

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like at this time to call the attention of the delegates, if such is necessary, to this very beautiful backdrop we have at the back of the platform which symbolizes the unity of all crafts, all trades, all colors, all creeds together in this organization.

I would like to point out to you that this backdrop has been furnished to us by our friends of the Jewish Labor Committee in order that they might make some contribution to this great Convention. It was designed by Bernie Seaman, Cartoonist for the ILGWU Paper, "Justice."

### **APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like to announce that, in accordance with Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Executive Committee has been designated by the Executive Council at its meeting held yesterday. This Executive Committee is to consist of Brothers Matthew Woll, Walter Reuther, David McDonald, George Harrison, James B. Carey, Harry C. Bates, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and myself.

### **INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT CONVENTION CALL**

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like to announce, by direction of the Executive Council, that in accordance with paragraph 3 (a) of the Agreement for the Merger of the AFL and the CIO, and in accordance with Article XII of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the First Constitutional Convention of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO is hereby called, to convene at 4:30 o'clock,

P. M. on Wednesday, December 7, tomorrow afternoon, in this 71st Regimental Armory.

The President of the AFL-CIO has been designated to act as Temporary Chairman.

Delegates to this founding Convention will be accredited from unions which are eligible to affiliate with the Industrial Union Department under the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and which are approved by the Temporary Chairman of the Convention, acting as the Credentials Committee for the Convention.

The Convention will be governed by the Convention Rules adopted by the Convention of the AFL-CIO.

The order of business for this meeting is:

1. Report of Temporary Chairman, acting as Credentials Committee.
2. Adoption of a Constitution for the Industrial Union Department.
3. Election of President, Secretary-Treasurer and Vice Presidents of the Department.
4. Designation by each affiliated union of its representative on the Executive Board of the Department.
5. Adjournment.

This announcement is made by direction of the Executive Council of the CIO, and all organizations interested will kindly take note. The Convention will convene at 4:30 tomorrow afternoon here in this hall.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Schnitzler announced the following:

*Labor's Daily*, America's only daily labor newspaper, has made arrangements for a

member of the cast of the union-musical, "The Pajama Game," to be present at our display, which is next to the drinking fountain at the 33rd Street exit.

We have an outstanding offer, which consists of a free ticket to see "The Pajama Game" with every subscription to *Labor's Daily*.

The word has spread around that many of the delegates would like to see it but haven't been able to get tickets. However, we have made arrangements with the theatre that will enable them to see this play before leaving New York.

**SECRETARY SCHNITZLER:** On my right, behind the wall the Federal Civil Defense Administration has set up a very unusual exhibit. It is the Civil Defense Emergency Hospital, and this exhibit unit is but a small part of the complete 200-bed hospital that FCDA has developed for use during a period of disaster—whether that disaster be caused by man or nature. FCDA has 832 such hospitals now on order. I sincerely urge that you take a moment of your valuable time to look it over, because you must remember that after all there is no civil defense unless you are a part of it.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** This brings us up to the conclusion of our work for today. I have a motion that the Rules be suspended and that this Convention stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Hearing no objections, that will be the order.

At 4:45 o'clock, P. M., December 6, 1955, the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M. on Wednesday, December 7, 1955.

# First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 7, 1955



## Report of THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 9.30 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The invocation this morning will be delivered by Dr. Bernard Segal, of the United Synagogue of America—Dr. Segal.

### INVOCATION

**Dr. Bernard Segal, United Synagogue of America**

O Father in heaven, we are assembled this morning from all parts of the land to take counsel with one another regarding the responsibilities which have come to us on behalf of the welfare of millions of working men and women of this nation, and our hearts and souls are turned to Thee in prayer.

From the rising of the sun unto its going down Thy name is extolled among men. Thy work guides our steps in the path of duty and of right and fills our souls with blessings.

Be with us at this hour and at all times and bless our efforts.

Grant us the will and the wisdom ever to give of ourselves completely and wholeheartedly to the tasks ahead of us, to the end that our priceless heritage may be preserved and that men everywhere may be free.

Banish selfishness from our hearts and do Thou endow us with a spirit of self-sacrifice, to seek not advancement for ourselves but safety and security for all the inhabitants of our land and glory to Thee.

Grant Thy blessings, we pray Thee, upon the millions of men and women in all parts of our land, in all forms of industry whom the delegates assembled here represent.

Uphold their hands and their spirits and permit not strife and confusion to enter their ranks. May they ever clearly perceive their many and varied tasks and responsibilities; and, together with all Americans, may they stand united, determined to see the day when universal justice and enduring peace shall have been achieved.

Establish Thou the work of our hands; yea, the work of our hands do Thou establish it—Amen.

## DEATH OF DELEGATE A. SHOEMAKE

PRESIDENT MEANY: I regret very much to announce the death last evening of a veteran representative of the Maintenance of Way, Brother A. Shoemaker, Grand Lodge Secretary, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, who passed away early this morning. The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler.

## COMMUNICATIONS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER read the following messages:

December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y.

William F. Schnitzler, Secy-Treas  
AFL-CIO  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

Congratulations on the splendid leadership displayed in the consolidation of the organized labor movement. We are certain that under the leadership of President Meany and yourself all working men and women will be justly proud. We are confident that your good judgment and wise thinking will bring glory and credit and greater benefit to all.

HARRY LORBER, Sec'y, Nathan  
Ehrlich Cake Bakers Union Local  
51

December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, CIO and AFL wishes all success to your convention. May the united labor movement of America be the true champion of the working man all over the world.

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Co-Chairman,  
Morris Iushewitz, Co-Chairman,  
Joseph Perez, Executive Secretary

December 5, 1955

Kitchener, Ont.

Convention Chairman, American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations  
Hotel New Yorker or Hotel Statler,  
New York

Congratulations and best wishes on the merger of solidarity in the union ranks from all the officers and members of the District Nine Joint Board of Brewery Workers, Province of Ontario, Canada.

FRANK KIESWETTER, Secretary  
District 9, Joint Board 4

Swiss Federation of Trade Unions

Bern, December 4, 1955

AFL-CIO Unity Committee,  
815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brothers:

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 7th, inviting me to participate at your merger convention which will be held in New York on December 5th through December 9th. I should like to thank you very much for your kind invitation, which is a great honour for me.

Unfortunately I have to inform you that I am not able to accept your invitation, as I shall be very busy at that time, and I beg you to excuse my absence.

The Swiss working class and the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions welcome the alliance of the two big American Trade Union Federations. We are sure that this will be very important and useful as well as for the working class in your country as for the trade union movement. The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions sends the new big trade union organization the heartiest wishes for a successful future.

Sincerely and fraternally yours.

BERNASCONI, General Secretary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom to continue the report of the Resolutions Committee.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

Co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

### CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major contributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

A well-rounded program to meet the needs of our youth also requires special services to meet particular problems. Our unions have supported many programs which have proved valuable in advancing child welfare. These include the child labor laws, health measures to aid mothers at childbirth and children in infancy, welfare programs to give crippled children a chance to grow whole and to aid in the placement of orphans and abused children in good homes. The Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U.S. Department of Labor have helped to develop such programs in cooperation with state and local governments and voluntary agencies; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO declares its wholehearted support for programs which strengthen and safeguard family life and help to assure to each child the fullest healthy mental and physical development.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and comfortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal well-being.

Trade unions are doing and will do their utmost in these essential areas.



Our efforts to develop and sustain improving standards of living for American families are at the very heart of trade union activities. We urge our affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their communities through active participation in local programs.

We have insisted that the Federal Government, along with state and local governments and private organizations, fulfill their essential responsibility to act to overcome substandard living and neighborhood conditions and thereby help provide improved opportunities for children throughout the nation. We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for such programs can be more than recaptured, not alone through savings in expenditures for jails or correctional facilities and mental institutions, but through the greater positive contribution to the community by youngsters who develop into healthy and responsible adults.

In the areas of specialized child needs, we commend the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards for their efforts in advancing the welfare of children and in helping to limit child labor.

We urge expansion of the programs providing maternal and child health services and special welfare services for children, including aid to crippled children. We support expansion of research and education in child life which will help parents understand better what makes for healthy, happy childhood.

The problems of juvenile delinquency can be met better also by expanded programs to improve procedures for spotting and aiding maladjusted children and to handle constructively those who get into trouble with the law. These programs should be given full support by our affiliated unions.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the following resolution:

#### **OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE, DISABILITY INSURANCE, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE**

During the twenty years it has been in existence, the national system of old-age and survivors insurance has fully proved its worth. Most Americans are now contributing regularly to the trust fund, and over seven million persons are receiving benefits.

Our members are well aware, however, of serious limitations that remain in the OASI legislation. In spite of amendments which organized labor helped to secure in recent years, benefits are still too low, no insurance payments are made for permanent and total disability or temporary disability, and many workers do not receive any protection.

The Lehman-Dingell bill, which both the AFL and the CIO supported in 1954, would have substantially remedied these shortcomings.

The House this year passed a bill (H.R. 7225) which was supported by

organized labor and which embodies important though restricted forward steps. It would initiate the payment of benefits to the permanent and totally disabled at age 50, with the same eligibility requirements now provided for freezing the pension rights of such disabled persons. For women, the bill would lower the qualifying age for OASI benefits to 62 years in recognition of the fact that many wives are younger than their husbands and that older women have even greater difficulty than men in obtaining steady employment.

The House bill would likewise extend coverage to additional groups, including employees of the TVA and many self-employed professionals. It would continue benefits for disabled dependent children of beneficiaries after age 18.

To finance these improvements, a one-half per cent contribution by employers and employees would be added to the schedule previously enacted. An advisory council on social security financing would be established to review the status of the trust fund in relation to the long-term commitments of the program. These provisions are consistent with the historic position of American labor in support of a social security system soundly financed on a long-term basis.

This House bill is now awaiting action by the Senate Finance Committee. Unfortunately, powerful groups, including the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association, are planning a strenuous fight against these long-overdue changes, especially the provision for disability benefits.

While labor has emphasized the development of rounded social insurance programs under which benefits are paid without a needs test, our unions have also favored improvements in the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act designed to provide decent incomes for those not adequately reached through social insurance. In many states payments to the aged, dependent children, and other groups are pitifully small, and the terms for qualifying are too harsh. Proposals such as those of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce for eliminating Federal grants for public assistance overlook the common national interest in the health and welfare of old people. Some attention to the public assistance programs must be given by Congress this year because of the coming expiration of a special \$5 a month Federal grant; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** This Convention supports comprehensive expansion and improvement of the existing system of old-age and survivors insurance to provide adequate benefits as a matter of right to the aged, the permanently and totally disabled, and those suffering from temporary illness or accident.

The provisions for improving benefits should include the following:

- (1) an increase in the wage base to keep pace with rising wage levels.
- (2) an annual increment of one-half of one per cent of the primary benefit for each year of contributions.
- (3) a two per cent increase in the primary benefit for each year of continued employment beyond age 65.



(4) the inclusion of "tips" as wages.

The success of the OASI program and of other social insurance systems which provide disability benefits has amply demonstrated the practicality and value of such measures. We likewise favor use of OASI funds to aid in vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons so that they may become self-supporting.

We favor continuation of Federal grants for the public assistance program more adequate assistance payments to individuals on a basis consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and removal of harsh requirements with regard to eligibility and residence.

We shall continue our efforts to achieve adequate social security both through collective bargaining and through Federal and state legislation.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report as follows:

#### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In 1954, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations both pointed out the serious defects of the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance. Affiliates were urged to undertake strenuous efforts to secure improvements in the great majority of states where legislatures met in 1955.

We can report a certain measure of success, due in many states to constructive cooperation among the various labor groups. Unfortunately the continued opposition of organized employers to adequate protection, and other difficulties inherent in the state-by-state approach, continued to prevent improvements of the kind required for adequate protection of unemployed workers. Benefits are still too low, maximums put a restrictive ceiling on the amounts that can be received, duration is far too short a period, and harsh disqualification and eligibility provisions deprive many thousands of workers of all insurance benefits.

In too many cases, a rise in the maximum benefit could be obtained only by sacrifice in some other respect. In some states no advances whatever were made.

Experience of the last year thus lends new weight to the contention of organized labor that federal action is required to build an adequate unemployment insurance program. Both the AFL and the CIO have long supported a national system of unemployment insurance that would provide sufficient incomes to unemployed workers throughout the nation, in place of the present fifty-one competing systems. Last year both federations supported a Federal bill which provided certain minimum steps towards the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system. This bill included uniform

national minimum standards as to benefit amounts, duration, eligibility requirements, and disqualifications. It established a re-insurance fund as a source of grants-in-aid to states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. Further, it struck at the present unsound system of individual employer experience rating by permitting an alternative method by which states can reduce employer tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

Recently many unions have negotiated collective agreements that provide guaranteed wages, supplementary unemployment benefits, and dismissal pay to provide more protection against unemployment. Many such agreements contemplate simultaneous receipt of unemployment insurance and the privately-negotiated benefits. This is a desirable objective, and it would be most unfortunate if narrow provisions and rulings were to interfere with free collective bargaining and the development of a combined arrangement that will better protect millions of workers and promote a more liberal insurance program for all wage earners.

The Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, a tripartite body established by law, has in recent years provided constructive advice to the Secretary of Labor on methods of improving unemployment insurance and the public employment offices. However, employer organizations have supported a bill to replace the tripartite body with separate consultative groups of labor and management. Provisions for tripartite advisory bodies in the states would also be eliminated.

The proposal by the Administration for basing old-age and survivors insurance benefits on annual reports of earnings, rather than quarterly reports as at present, likewise constitutes a threat to unemployment insurance. If quarterly reports by employers for OASI purposes are abolished, the drive of employers to substitute so-called request reporting for quarterly reports under the unemployment insurance laws will be strengthened. Such a change would work to the detriment of unemployment insurance claimants unless proper safeguards can be provided; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** This Convention supports a comprehensive over-hauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. The ultimate answer to present shortcomings lies in the establishment of a single federal employment security system, with adequate benefits for all workers and a sound system of financing.

Pending the establishment of such a system, we support Federal legislation providing uniform minimum standards with regard to benefits, duration, eligibility and disqualifications, providing for re-insurance as a source of grants-in-aid to states, and permitting states to make flat-rate reductions in taxes in place of individual employer experience rating.

We support a coordinated national approach by the employment service and the continuation and expansion of its various activities.

We oppose employer proposals for abolishing the tripartite Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory bodies.

We favor repeal of the Reed amendments which will shortly result in automatic federal grants to the states, regardless of need, which can be used to supplement federal appropriations for employment security administration, thus undermining proper Federal leadership without meeting essential requirements.

We urge the Secretary of Labor to enforce strictly the labor standards provisions of the unemployment insurance section of the Social Security Act, and to oppose all efforts by employer representatives to weaken or abolish the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory committees.

We urge affiliated unions to continue their efforts to improve the state unemployment insurance laws so that they will replace a higher percent of the individual's lost wages, so that maximums are realistic in terms of present wage levels, and so that harsh, restrictive provisions in regard to eligibility and disqualifications are removed.

We favor extension of coverage to all wage earners and the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance in Puerto Rico.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following report:

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

American workers injured on the job are today bearing not only the pain and suffering caused by their injuries, but also a shocking proportion of the resulting economic burden. Despite the intention of workmen's compensation legislation to restore to injured workers at least two-thirds of the wage losses due to industrial injuries, this intention is violated in every state in the United States.

While there has been some improvement in state legislation during the past year, there are few states that repay as much as one-third of the losses suffered by workers and their families.

With average weekly earnings of approximately \$72.00, the stated objective of the Workmen's Compensation system would require average weekly benefits of \$43.20 to \$48.00. However, only one state, Arizona, attains this average. In all other states compensation is reduced below the theoretical benefit level because the statutes fix a maximum payment that is not related to the worker's actual earnings.

In addition, there are wide disparities in payments for permanent partial disabilities. The value given an arm in one state is only half the value in another state. In a number of states loss of an arm at the shoulder is given less compensable value than the loss of

a thumb in one of the better states.

Increases in workmen's compensation payments since 1940 have been at only one-half the rate of employer contributions to all other social-insurance and related programs during the same period. Abuse of workmen's compensation insurance by private insurers has continued. By design, workmen's compensation premiums set aside as much as 40 percent for "overhead." In practice, workers often receive even less than half of the premiums in benefits.

The decline of workmen's compensation legislation in America is a matter of grave concern not only to the millions of workers who make up the nation's labor force, and their immediate families, but also the communities in which they live and to the nation as a whole. Injured workers in many instances receive substantially less than they could collect in relief payments. Thus there is a tendency to tax the community for what properly should be a charge against industry. The time has come for the Federal Government, which is an active participant in all other forms of social insurance, to assert leadership in improving workmen's compensation, the most neglected form of social insurance in America today.

Organized labor is fearful that our first social-insurance laws are headed for almost certain collapse. It was the collapse of the common law and employers' liability acts 40 years ago that resulted in widespread investigations and the enactment of workmen's compensation laws. But experience has shown that the 1910 models of workmen's compensation laws do not meet today's needs; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. We approve of the short initial step taken by the present national administration to make an objective survey through the U. S. Department of Labor of workmen's compensation systems throughout the United States. This survey should give prior attention to the decline in benefits in relation to the wage loss and the relation of the benefit to modest living costs.

2. The respective state legislatures are urged to take the following action: eliminate dollar and duration limits on medical care which still exist in too many states; overhaul the permanent partial disability rating schedules; make coverage compulsory for all employers including those in agriculture regardless of the number of employees; make provision for compulsory reporting of all disabling injuries including occupational diseases; maintain a free choice of physicians for the injured worker under proper safeguards established by the State Workmen's Compensation Commission; and expand occupational disease provisions, especially in view of the vast development of new industrial processes and materials.

3. Greater consideration must also be given by the states to provisions for rehabilitation of injured workers. One authority has revealed that "true rehabilitation of the injured worker, with a few real exceptions is, from a practical point of view, virtually non-

existing under our present workmen's compensation system."

4. Abuses, such as excessive overhead charges, arising out of the insurance of workmen's compensation risks by private insurance companies must be corrected.

5. We urge all of our affiliated organizations to work for the amendment and improvement of state workmen's compensation laws in accordance with the standards set forth in this resolution.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the resolution: . . . The motion was seconded and carried.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

Occupational accidents and health hazards continue to take a relentless toll of the lives and well-being of American workers. Despite continuous discussion of the problem, statistics indicate that these accidents and injuries continue at a fairly consistent level year after year. The 14,000 death toll and 1,850,000 crippling accidents in 1954 reveal only a slight reduction in the shameful record of 1953.

These tragic problems can be solved only through the cooperation of all concerned, in voluntary activities and in enactment of necessary legislation. Organized labor has consistently requested business management, the other major group directly concerned in occupational safety and health, to joint with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the cooperative approach has been tried, the record plainly reveals tremendous improvements in safety performance.

Major opposition to the cooperative approach can be traced clearly to a group of large industries, the heads of which continue to insist that occupational safety and health programs are the "sole prerogative" of management. Representatives of these industries strive to dominate completely the voluntary and governmental agencies which presumably have been established to reduce accidents and occupational diseases. Thus they prevent any real improvements in occupational safety and health legislation, and adequate governmental appropriations for research, education and enforcement of existing laws.

The limited interest which the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Public Health Service are permitted to take in occupational safety and health, is revealed in the Federal budget. The Bureau of Labor Standards in the Labor Department has been allotted \$735,000 for the current fiscal year; the Occupational Health Program in the Health, Education and Welfare Department has been given \$557,000 by the present Administration. These amounts together represent an annual expenditure of less than TWO CENTS for each American worker. Even these pitiful amounts are constantly threatened with further reductions.

Similarly, the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with occupational health in the respective states are handicapped by grossly inadequate appropriations. Efforts to improve inadequate state standards meet with steady and relentless opposition; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. We reaffirm the programs for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

2. We further urge the 84th Congress to appropriate funds in amounts sufficient to enable the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Division of Special Services, U. S. Public Health Service, to carry out properly and efficiently their respective leadership functions in the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. We further urge that the Congress provide for Federal grants-in-aid to the state agencies concerned with maintaining standards of occupational safety and health, as provided in the Bailey bill (H. R. 4877) and the Murray bill (S. 638). We also urge the Congress to vest in the Federal Government enforcement of adequate labor standards in metallic and non-metallic mines as well as in coal mines, and also in quarries, and in the logging and lumbering industry.

3. We commend the National Safety Council for its decision within the last year to integrate organized labor into the work of the Council through the establishment of a Labor Conference equal in status to other NSC Conferences.

4. We emphasize our conviction that occupational safety and health can be attained only by initial action at the level of each individual plant or workplace. Neither management, nor labor, nor safety technicians can do the job alone. All three groups must work together voluntarily in good faith to attain the objectives through joint committees.

5. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states to bring about the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety and health codes at all levels.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

### ESCORT COMMITTEES

. . . President Meany announced the appointment of the following Escort Committees:

**J. Addington Wagner, Commander of The American Legion**

William L. McPetridge  
M. A. Hutcheson  
W. C. Doherty  
I. W. Abel  
William Pollock  
Ed Miller

**Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President, National Council of Churches of Christ in America**

Phil Hannah  
Lee Minton  
Herman Winter  
John Riffe  
John J. Moran

**The Honorable Adlai Stevenson**

George M. Harrison  
Joseph D. Keenan  
Peter Schoemann  
David J. McDonald  
Frank Rosenblum

**Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt**

James B. Carey  
John J. Murphy  
John J. Lyons  
Harriet Wray  
Charles Zimmerman  
O. A. Knight

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The members of these Committees will kindly take note and get information from the Secretary-Treasurer's office as to where these guests can be contacted.

### **GENERAL BOARD AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like to call attention also at this time to Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. This Article has to do with the General Board of the Federation and states that this Board shall consist of all the members of the Executive Council and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions, and of each trade and industrial department.

The section further calls for a meeting at least once a year.

In order that the names of these people who will comprise the General Board may be listed in the Convention proceedings, I would request each affiliated International Union and its trade or industrial departments to present to the Secretary sometime the name of the principal officer whom they wish to sit on this particular Board.

In case we do not hear from the International Union, it is understood then that the president of each organization will be listed as the principal officer.

I ask that each organization who has any other desire would communicate that to the Secretary so that these names can be listed in the official proceedings of this Convention before adjournment.

The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### **HEALTH PROGRAMS**

Adequate health services must now be considered one of the necessities of life along with food, shelter and clothing. Yet millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care and other health services. Among those who suffer most are many beneficiaries of old-age and survivors insurance.

Public funds invested in health programs are more than repaid by the

increased productivity and well-being of the population.

Organized labor has supported a national health program which would give all Americans access to the highest quality of medical care. In addition, our unions have made notable progress in the development of health centers and collective bargaining agreements providing health protection for our members. We have cooperated in community efforts by private and public agencies to provide more and better health services of many types. Labor representatives have served constructively on boards of voluntary health agencies and on many public bodies concerned with health problems.

In spite of remarkable achievements in medical science and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local governments generally lag seriously behind their capacity to develop comprehensive activities essential for the maintenance of good health. Our union-negotiated programs are severely limited by the shortcomings of the public programs, especially by continuing shortages of medical personnel and facilities, with ever-rising costs. Our unions are also handicapped by the scarcity of nonprofit, direct service, prepayment medical plans, which make comprehensive services, including preventive medicine, available at reasonable charges.

Organized labor has favored many types of government action which would overcome these shortcomings and lead toward our ultimate goal of a comprehensive national health program, including national health insurance.

In the last year, the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to provide adequate leadership has had tragic results. The delay in rapid provision of a safe vaccine against polio arose partly from a narrow concept of the responsibilities of the Federal Government and inadequate staffing of the U. S. Public Health Service.

No constructive programs were advocated by the Administration for training more doctors, dentists, and all other types of medical personnel, or for assisting the development of direct service prepayment plans.

Administration budget requests for hospital construction, medical research, and many other health services were inadequate, and so are current appropriations, in spite of additions made by Congress. The Pure Food and Drug Administration and the Industrial Health Division of the U. S. Public Health Service continue to furnish sad illustrations of the effects of the short-sighted economy drive of a business-minded Administration. The marine hospitals, which have provided care for seamen since 1798, have been preserved with difficulty.

At a time when organized labor has been trying to hold down medical costs and promote nonprofit arrangements covering all costs of comprehensive medical service, the Administration has been turning to the life insurance companies in developing legislation for health insurance for Federal employees. As originally introduced in Congress, these proposals threatened to shut out

the voluntary nonprofit plans, and in other ways fell far short of the standards our unions in private industry have obtained or are seeking for their members.

The passage of a law providing for a nationwide analysis of the problems of mental illness was the most notable health legislation, other than the polio vaccine program, enacted by Congress in 1955. But this accomplishment is limited in scope compared to the nation's vast needs.

In the past, the Committee for the Nation's Health, endorsed and supported by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has served as a central agency for information and for cooperation between our organizations and others. It is desirable that the functions and structure of such a central clearing house be considered afresh by the Social Security Committee, in the light of the current situation; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO, in recognition of the immensity of the problems of meeting the basic health needs of the nation, will renew organized labor's efforts to obtain more adequate health services through collective bargaining, through community activities, and through legislative efforts in Washington, in the states, and in cities and counties.

We call upon Congress to enact a comprehensive legislative program geared to the nation's needs and resources. Such a program would strengthen national, state, local and private agencies alike. It should include the following:

1. Federal assistance to schools training doctors, dentists, nurses and medical technicians, in the form of grants for construction, equipment and maintenance of physical facilities, for student scholarships, and for research.

2. Expanded federal matching grants to states and local groups for the construction of hospitals, at least to the level of \$150,000,000 a year authorized under the original Hill-Burton Act, in addition to sums for special types of hospitals added by recent legislation.

3. A program of federal aid, such as grants and low-interest loans, to further the development of nonprofit, direct service, prepayment medical care plans, based on group practice.

4. Expanded Federal aid for medical research and for state and local public health units.

5. Expanded aid for maternal and child health services, and for programs for physically handicapped children.

6. Renewed efforts to develop a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services throughout the nation for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel.

7. Strengthening of other functions of the U. S. Public Health Service, with especial attention to restoring and increasing of its activities for the Food and Drug Administration, for advancing of industrial health, and for providing of up-to-date maritime hospitals.

8. Hospitalization insurance for persons receiving old-age and survivors insurance insurance benefits.

9. A national health insurance system which would make complete prepaid health protection available to all Americans, with contributions geared to income; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality; and at the same time provide free choice of doctors and patients, with control of medical decisions in the hands of the medical profession.

We urge our affiliated unions and central bodies to continue their efforts to improve state and local legislation so that more adequate health facilities and services may be available in all areas. We seek repeal of laws that have been sponsored by medical societies in many states to interfere with the formation of consumer cooperatives for health care. We support the addition of fluorides to water as an excellent preventive step against tooth decay.

We shall press for the continued improvement of our collective bargaining programs in the field of health, which provide immediate protection and could, to a substantial degree, continue to operate under the type of national health insurance which we support. We express especial interest in the continued development of direct service prepayment medical plans, making available to their members the advantage of group practice.

We favor more extensive, active and meaningful consumer participation in the determination of policies governing the operations of hospitals, medical service plans and other voluntary health agencies. Our objective is not mere token representation, but sufficiently extensive and active participation by labor and consumer spokesmen to improve the services these agencies render. It should be clear to our unions that labor representation on the board of an agency does not, in itself, mean endorsement by labor.

We recommend that the Social Security Committee consider the best means by which the AFL-CIO can cooperate with other groups interested in the development and promotion of programs to meet the health needs of the nation.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

## HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Before co-Secretary Soderstrom reads the resolves on this very important resolution I would ask that the delegates give him their undivided attention. These matters are very, very important, and while they will, of course, appear in the proceedings in full and you will have an opportunity to read them, I feel it might be well to give the co-Secretary the attention he deserves so that you can hear these recommendations of the Committee regarding the administration of health and welfare plans and the principles that should be observed in administering those plans, which are all designed to protect the interests of each individual member in these particular plans. I ask you to very kindly give the co-Secretary of the Committee your undivided attention as he reads the resolves in this report.



... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Health and Welfare Plan Administration as follows:

### HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

In the development, through the process of collective bargaining, of plans designed to provide some measure of protection to the health and welfare of wage earners and their families, the labor movement is fulfilling its historic role. Having been denied by the Government the comprehensive health insurance protection for the people of the Nation which organized labor has advocated for many years, trade unions have secured for their members the best protection available.

The task of administering and operating these programs has placed heavy new responsibilities upon the shoulders of trade union officials. The funds involved must be regarded as the common property of the workers covered by these plans, for they have been paid for through labor performed in exchange. They must, therefore, be administered as a high trust for the benefit only of the workers covered. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare and retirement programs, whether union, management or joint, as well as all others exercising responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided for the money available, and that the highest ethical standards are observed and rigorously followed.

In the pursuit of their responsibilities as autonomous organizations in the direction of their internal affairs, it is incumbent upon each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to take such steps as are necessary to protect the interests of its members in the operation of health and welfare programs, in the manner best suited to the particular problems and practices in its trade or industry. Where constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedure are necessary to provide this protection, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time. They should be designed to provide national and international unions with the means and the authority to audit funds and apply remedies where there is evidence of a violation of ethical standards. To aid affiliated organizations in the performance of this responsibility, and as a guide to trade union officials engaged in the administration of health and welfare programs, a uniform code of ethical standards—in keeping with standards adopted separately heretofore by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—should be adopted by the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. These guides and standards should receive

the widest distribution throughout the ranks of the trade union movement.

While unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations can, with the aid of these standards, be relied upon to keep their own houses in order, there are problems in other areas of the health and welfare field, and particularly in the area of commercial insurance practices, which require legislative action; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. In the administration of health and welfare plans, the following principles should be observed:

(a) Where a salaried union official serves as employee representative or trustee in the administration of a health, welfare or retirement program, such service should be regarded as one of the functions expected to be performed by a union official in the normal course of his duties and not as an "extra" function requiring further compensation, over and above his salary, from the welfare fund. Officials who already receive full-time pay from their union should not receive fees or salaries from a welfare fund.

(b) Union officials, employees, or any other persons acting as agent or representative of the union who exercise responsibility or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts should be entirely free of any compromising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurance carriers, brokers, consultants and others—doing business with the welfare plan. Such ties cannot be reconciled with their duty to be guided solely by the best interests of the membership in any transactions with such agencies. Any union official found to be involved in such ties to his own personal advantage, or to have accepted inducements, benefits or favors of any kind from such outside agencies, should be removed.

This principle should not be construed to prevent an outside relationship on the part of a union officer or employee where (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.

(c) Where any trustee—whether employer, employee or neutral—or employee of a health and welfare program is found to have received an unethical payment, the union should insist upon his removal and appropriate legal action against both the party receiving and the party making the payment. In addition, if an insurance carrier or agent is involved, action against the carrier or agent should be pressed before the state insurance authorities, with a view to the cancellation of the carrier's or agent's right to do business in the state.

(d) Complete records of the financial operations of welfare funds and programs should be maintained in accordance with the best accepted accounting practice. All welfare funds should be audited at least semi-annually by certified public accountants of unques-

tioned professional integrity, who should certify that the audits fully and comprehensively show the financial condition of the funds and results of the operation of these funds. All audit reports should be available to the membership of the union.

(e) There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiaries at least once each year by the trustees or administrators of welfare funds. Included in the report should be a detailed statement of receipts and expenses; all salaries and fees paid by the fund, to whom and in what amount such sums were paid, and for what service or purpose; a breakdown of insurance premium payments, if a commercial insurance carrier is involved, showing the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions and service charges and to whom the carrier paid such commissions and charges; a financial statement on the part of the insuring or service agency, if an agency other than a commercial insurance carrier is employed; and a detailed account of the manner in which the reserves held by the fund are invested.

(f) Prior to the initial establishment of the plan, the relative advantages of all of the alternative available methods of providing health and welfare benefits should be fully explored, including self-insurance and the use of programs providing prepaid direct medical services where they exist or can be set up in the community, as well as the use of commercial insurance carriers. The objective should be to reduce operating expenses and non-benefit costs to the minimum consistent with the safety and security of the program, and to make available to the members the maximum in terms of actual prepaid health services (as distinguished from cash payments covering an unpredictable portion of actual medical bills) obtainable within the limits of the revenue of the fund.

(g) Where health and welfare benefits are provided through the use of a commercial insurance carrier, the carrier should be selected through competitive bids solicited from a substantial number of reliable companies, on the basis of the lowest net cost for the given benefits submitted by a responsible carrier, taking into consideration such factors as comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities for and promptness in servicing claims, and the past record of the carrier, including its record in dealing with trade unions representing its employees.

The trustees of the fund should be required to state in writing and to report to the membership the specific reasons for the selection of the carrier finally chosen. The carrier should be required to warrant that no fee or other remuneration has been paid, directly or indirectly, to any representative of the parties in connection with the business of the fund.

(h) Complete records of the claims experience should be kept so that a constant check can be maintained on the relationship between claims and premiums and dividends, and on the utilization of the various benefits. In the case of medical benefits, records and statistics should also be kept,

where possible, showing the extent to which benefits paid out are sufficient to cover, or fail to cover, the costs and charges actually incurred by the members when they avail themselves of medical services.

(i) The investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of such a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment, should be prohibited.

(This is not to be construed as preventing investment in an enterprise in which a union official is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.)

(j) The provisions of the plan governing eligibility for benefits should be designed to include, as nearly as practicable, all workers on whose wages and substantial contribution has been paid, whether such contribution was withheld from their wages or made on their behalf by their employers. Waiting periods for eligibility should not be of such a length as to discriminate unfairly against some portions of the membership, to the benefit of others.

(k) Every program should incorporate an adequate appeals procedure as a check against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims, so as to afford the individual member a fair hearing and a sufficient opportunity to obtain redress where he feels his claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.

(l) The duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national and international officials. The best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program. As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should seek to develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large. International unions should, wherever possible, have expert advice available for the negotiation, establishment and administration of health and welfare plans, and should provide training for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare plans.

2. Legislation should be enacted by the Congress of the United States, requiring annual reports and public disclosure of the financial operations of health, welfare and pension plans, including the details of the related financial transactions of insurance carriers and/or service agencies. Such legisla-



tion should contain the following essential elements:

(a) The law should be adopted and administered at the Federal level rather than through a multiplicity of state agencies. Parties responsible for the operation of health and welfare plans should be required to file reports with the Federal Government, regardless of whether or not they also file with a state governmental agency. As an expression of the public interest in the operation of tax-exempt programs and so as to avoid the complexity of determining whether such plans are intra-state or interstate in character, the reporting and disclosure requirement should be made a function of the Federal tax power.

(b) The filing and disclosure requirement should apply to all types of group health, welfare and pension plans, including those administered unilaterally as well as those administered jointly.

(c) The party or parties responsible for the administration of a health, welfare or pension plan should be required to report the financial details of plan operations annually, on a standard form, with the Internal Revenue Service. The report should disclose, in adequate detail, the operations, transactions, expenses and investments of the fund. If a private insurance carrier is employed, the report should be accompanied by a statement from the carrier covering the particular account involved and containing a breakdown of premiums and retentions, showing the amount of dividends or rate credits paid or due, claims experience, the amount of commissions and service charges, and to whom those commissions and charges were paid.

The law should provide criminal penalties for non-filing or false filing. While the Internal Revenue Service should not be granted the power to withhold approval of a health and welfare plan so as to delay its establishment or to require approval in advance of establishment as a condition of tax exemption, as a result of this legislation, the Service would be able to use the information contained in these reports as an aid to its normal enforcement operations.

(d) The party or parties responsible for filing these reports shall also, and at the same time, file a certified duplicate copy with the Department of Labor. It shall then be the duty of the Department of Labor to make these reports freely available on request to parties authorized to receive them—which shall include individual employees and their collective bargaining representatives, authorized government agencies and committees of Congress, and state insurance departments. It shall also be the duty of the Department of Labor to undertake and to make public analytical studies and statistical summaries of the information derived through these reports.

The proposed statute should spell out in detail the information to be sought in a disclosure form with authority lodged in the Secretary of Labor to prescribe appropriate rules. In addition, since the whole field of health, welfare and pension plans is still in such a fluid state, the law should re-

quire the establishment of an advisory committee to meet at regular intervals and to be composed of representatives from the important interest groups including organized labor. The purpose of the advisory committee would be to provide guidance to the government in the formulation of the disclosure schedule and in the administration of the Act.

3. Legislation should be sought in the several states so as to achieve the following objectives:

(a) State insurance laws should be amended so that in cases where an agent or broker is not employed and no such services are rendered, the requirement that commissions must nevertheless be paid to an agent or retained by the insurance carrier is eliminated.

(b) Where the services of agents or brokers are employed, the payment of excessive commissions and service charges should be banned. A code of standards governing commissions and charges should be adopted and enforced by state insurance commissions.

(c) State regulatory bodies governing insurance operations should be made more representative of the public and consumer interest. At present, state insurance commissions and departments tend to reflect and to be dominated by the special interests of the insurance industry.

(d) State insurance commissions and departments should be required to assume and exercise a greater degree of responsibility for the integrity, competence and character of agents and brokers who are licensed by the state. At the present time, such a license is virtually meaningless and offers no assurance to the public that a person having a license is reliable or subject to any really effective checks, surveillance or standards. As a minimum step, as a requirement for securing and holding a license, the records and accounts of agents and brokers should be subject to regular and thorough inspections, and they should be required to file regular reports with state insurance commissions disclosing and identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group policy, issued as a part of a health and welfare plan, and the nature and purpose of expenditures made in the course of their business operations. The charging of excessive fees, commissions, or expenses and the making of unethical or improper payments to secure or to hold an account should result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate.

(e) Laws which, in a number of states, now stand in the way of the development of consumer-sponsored, nonprofit medical service prepayment plans should be repealed, so as to make constructive alternatives to limited cash indemnity insurance plans more generally available to trade union and other consumer groups.

(f) Laws which, in a number of states, prohibit employers from withholding any part of wages earned by an employee (except taxes) without written authorization, should be amended so as to exempt from such prohibitions deductions made for health and welfare plans developed through

collective bargaining by employers and bona fide trade unions.

(g) The fiduciary obligations generally applicable to trustees under state law should be applicable to trustees of health and welfare plans. If additional legislation is necessary to bring about the result, it should be enacted.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom: I move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on the very important subject of Health and Welfare Plan Administration. The motion is to adopt that report. Is there discussion? The Chair recognizes Delegate Sorenson.

DELEGATE SORENSON, Poughkeepsie Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates.

I have listened with a great deal of attention to the report of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee on this important subject of welfare and the recommendation to seek legislation to protect the various phases of this important part of our union life.

I am in full accord with the Resolution Committee's suggestions, and so far as the adoption of the necessary legislation to protect the interests of each and every member of our great labor movement is, but I feel that the resolution itself does not cover the most important part of the administration of the welfare fund itself. That particular point has to do with the constantly expanding costs of the application of the fund to the benefits of the membership. By that I mean, if I may illustrate it in a rather simple manner, the experience that we have had in the administration of our own fund is simply that each year as the contributions of our employers to our funds have increased and as the resources of our funds have increased, we have witnessed within the area of that particular fund a continual increase in the service charges by the physicians working in that particular area. By that I mean as our income has increased our expenses have increased much more rapidly, and it seems to refute the statement of the American Medical Association that the people themselves can enlist and work on the basis of their own funds.

Then we find the picture where the American Medical Association takes the negative position in so far as trying to control the costs of that particular fund. I believe if we are to seek legislation which will guarantee protection to the members of our organizations—and I reiterate I am solely and wholly in favor of it—I would say this also, that this resolution should be embodied so that a specific study would be made of the costs that have been foisted on these particular plans by the unscrupulous physicians—and I hope there are not too many of them—who are willing to increase their costs and which again brings about a gradual mounting of costs to the point that possibly the fund itself will become inoperative.

I respectfully suggest to the Resolutions Committee that study be given to the adoption of legislation that will definitely protect the members in so far

as the mounting charges imposed upon them by physicians who will take advantage of this particular measure which has been instituted and has been developed by organized labor are concerned.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

The Executive Council can make study of the point raised by Delegate Sorenson, and I am quite sure they will have the authority to support legislation in that direction if they feel the study warrants that support.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I think the delegate will be interested in knowing that his point is completely covered in another section of the Resolution Committee's report under the caption of Health Programs. I suggest that he read that.

The motion for adoption of the resolution on Health and Welfare Plan Administration was carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Will the Escort Committee escorting the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, please come to the platform?

Mr. Marion B. Folsom was escorted to the speaker's platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: With a great deal of pleasure I have the opportunity to present to you a member of the President's Cabinet in charge of the newest Department of the Executive branch of our Government, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

This department is without question one of the outstanding departments from the viewpoint of workers and their families.

I am very happy to see this department under the charge of our guest speaker who is with us this morning. He has had a long career in business and has for many years had an interest in health and welfare and unemployment insurance programs. I had the pleasure of sitting with him as one of the first members of the New York State Advisory Commission on unemployment insurance, which was established after the passage of the State Unemployment Insurance Law in 1935. I sat on that board with him for five years. I know him very well. I am quite sure that he is one secretary of a department that is completely in sympathy with the purposes for which his department is established.

I regard him as a close personal friend and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you—Mr. Marion Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

### MR. MARION B. FOLSOM Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Convention:

It is a privilege to have a part in this historic convention. In this setting, I think it would be pertinent to consider, for just a moment, the scene that surrounds American workers today.

The nation is breaking all records in the number of people with jobs, the high wages they are receiving, and the production of goods for people to enjoy. And income means more to the average family—because prices have remained stable.

No single element of our national life, of course, can claim credit for this abundance. We have advanced to higher living standards through the joint efforts of all. This Administration has made its contribution over these past three years by governmental policies which foster a continuously expanding economy without inflation. Business has been willing to take risks necessary for expansion and growth. And organized labor and individual workers have contributed mightily with their enterprise, effort, and counsel for ever-increasing productivity and a better life for the individual and the nation.

It is not characteristic of the labor movement to sit back and rest on the past, to drift into a future you are not helping to shape. Nor is economic standpatism a tradition of American business, with its will to venture. And complacency certainly has no part in our thoughts in this Administration. Even in times like these, poverty, disease, and distress still afflict too many people. Our national living standards, although high, can be higher.

And so we must renew our combined efforts to achieve for each person an ever-increasing measure of economic security, well-being, and freedom from want. I believe this is the best fundamental approach to the problem:

We should all cooperate to promote continuing increases in production for the benefit of all. We should not be content with programs—worthy as they are—which simply relieve human want after it has developed. Our best hope for progress lies in greater stress on prevention and elimination of need, on attacking the underlying causes of want. We must look ahead and head off problems before they become acute. We must emphasize the services which help restore persons in need to independence and a better life. This approach requires imagination, hard and practical thinking, and a willingness to face up to the problems.

In the past 20 years, I have seen this approach bring great benefits to individuals and to the nation through our social security system. This is one of the best examples of the prevention of need—because this system provides basic protection for millions against economic distress. It is one of the nation's strongest bulwarks against human want.

It is a personal pleasure to meet old friends again and to recall our long work together. I know from personal experience that leaders of organized labor have made a magnificent contribution to social security through the years. I remember vividly my association with the late William Green in 1934 on the advisory council which helped draft the original social security program. In 1937-38 I participated with Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, Matthew Woll, and others on the second advisory council, which proposed the

recommendations for the far-reaching amendments of 1939, adding survivor benefits to the program and increasing benefits. The important social security improvements of 1950 were due in large part to the work of the advisory council of 1947-48 on which I served with Emil Rieve and Nelson Cruikshank.

I also had the pleasure as your chairman has indicated of working with him on the New York State Advisory Council on Unemployment for many years. And in 1951-52 I served with George Meany and Walter Reuther on the President's National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy.

We were able to bring tangible results from these councils, I think, because labor, industry, and public representatives were willing to work together. Although our views may have differed widely at the beginning, after all the facts were on the table we were usually able to reach an agreement. The labor leaders and others on these councils sought advantage for no single group or interest, but we all sought the best programs for the Nation as a whole. And that is the approach we should continue today.

I remember, as many of you do, the fears that were often expressed about social security in those early days. We were told the system would bog down in red tape and staggering administrative costs. But today the administrative costs are amazingly low—only 1.3 percent of contributions. Fears also were expressed that the system would hamper individual initiative and business enterprise. But today individuals have provided for themselves, in addition to social security, more economic protection than ever before—through increased savings bonds, savings accounts, insurance, home ownership and other methods. And there has been an encouraging growth in company pension plans, many of them negotiated by workers and employers as a supplement to social security benefits. Some 13 million workers are now covered by private pension plans, and almost 1 million retired persons are drawing benefits from these plans—about twice as many as four years ago. Workers and employers should cooperate to extend and improve private retirement plans.

And I remember a third fear expressed at the outset of social security. Our opponents said political pressures would increase benefits sky high, all out of line. The fact is that when this Administration took office, we found benefits were too low. They had failed to keep pace with wage increases and living costs. So President Eisenhower recommended and Congress approved last year a far-reaching series of improvements. Protection was extended to an additional 10 million persons, so that 9 out of 10 workers are covered today. Benefits were increased. A revision of the benefit formula and an increase in the wage base provided more equitable treatment for the industrial and trade worker. Again, I had the pleasure of working with labor leaders and others on these amendments.

We have made great progress in social security over the years because we have been willing to change to meet changing conditions. We look forward to continued improvements, with extension of coverage to the few groups who are still excluded and other steps which can be taken soundly at this time. On the other hand we should remember that the social security system has remained sound because Congress has rejected proposals that might weaken it. We must always be especially careful that proposals for new benefits are actually in keeping with the changing aspects of our times, that they do not run counter to trends in population, work habits, and our social life. We know, for example, that the life span is increasing and our aged population is growing rapidly. More groups are urging better job opportunities for older persons and more flexibility in retirement so that workers can choose between retirement or continued employment. Further, in considering social security benefits and the taxes to pay for them, we should carefully avoid tax increases that might undermine or weaken popular support for the system in the future. We should remember there is a limit to the social security taxes the people may be willing to pay to support the program in all the years ahead.

Despite our increasing efforts toward economic security, we know that in our complex society there will always be some who need help in meeting their basic human needs. Local, state, private, and Federal agencies should provide necessary assistance, efficiently and fairly, with warm consideration for the individual. In our welfare programs we should emphasize services which help the person receiving assistance to rebuild toward self-sufficiency and a more satisfactory life. We need more research into the causes of individual want; we need more trained workers; and we need further study and demonstration to develop methods for helping people cope with personal distress.

The principle of prevention—of constructive action for the future—has been applied with dramatic benefits in the field of health.

The first line of attack in promoting better health is research into the prevention and treatment of disease. Scientific discoveries over the years have virtually eliminated, or greatly reduced, some of the diseases that once plagued mankind—smallpox, diphtheria, and typhoid. In the past 10 years we have seen the death rate drop 90 percent for influenza and 73 percent for tuberculosis and acute rheumatic fever. This year, the rate of paralytic polio among several million vaccinated children has been reduced an average of about 75 percent. A single discovery now prevents blindness in about 1,000 newborn children every year.

But today we find other cripples and killers are increasing—heart disease, cancer, and arthritis, for example. And so now we must strengthen our research efforts in these and other fields. Further, we must increase our

speed and efficiency in applying the fruits of research to the treatment of patients and to broad public health programs to prevent disease. Few expenditures bring such great rewards as medical research in preventing or relieving suffering and in helping people to a happier life.

Despite all our effort, of course, illness and disease will strike, often bringing great economic strain as well as personal tragedies. I believe strongly in expanding and improving voluntary health insurance programs to provide the people with better protection against the mounting costs of medical care. This is one of the major goals in our pattern of preventing human want.

Rapid advances are being made. Well over 100 million persons are now covered by some voluntary health insurance, and policies are constantly being improved. But we must speed this process of expansion, and we must close some of the gaps in protection.

One of the big opportunities lies in coverage of especially severe or prolonged illness, often called "catastrophic illness." Under too many policies, benefits are exhausted long before major costs are met; family savings are wiped out and many are forced to turn to public aid. It is encouraging to see the insurance industry is beginning to move into this field now, and several large companies and their workers recently have negotiated insurance plans to cover catastrophic illness. I met with your Social Security Committee this morning and was pleased to have them tell me of several plans which have recently been negotiated in this field. My hope is that catastrophic coverage will spread rapidly in the next few years.

There is also a great need to increase protection for older people against the cost of medical care. Many of them find it difficult or impossible to retain health insurance policies. I think it would be a sound insurance principle—for the company and the individual or group—to add a few cents to premiums in younger years and thus provide coverage for older people, including retired people.

Further, there is a gap in coverage in rural areas, due partly to higher administrative costs. Special types of policies are being developed to meet this special need.

I believe by working together at the problem with the principles I have mentioned—with imagination, practical thinking, and willingness—we will make great new strides in health insurance over the next few years.

As health insurance expands and improves, we must also provide adequate hospitals and other medical care facilities. The Federal-State program of hospital construction has brought a high mark of progress in this field throughout the nation and should be extended.

Our efforts to assure the purity and safety of foods, drugs, and cosmetics as they reach consumers should be increased. We are taking steps in this direction, with the benefit of a survey and the recommendations of a special advisory committee.

When sickness strikes the wage earner, the first need is to provide continued income. Many workers—two-thirds or more in some industrial states—also are covered by plans which provide some income during sickness or disability not connected with their employment. Workers and employers should cooperate in expanding and improving sick pay insurance plans. In the tax revision of 1954, recommended by this Administration, sick pay benefits up to \$100 weekly, after the first week, are tax free.

Another great opportunity for relieving personal tragedies lies in programs for restoring disabled workers to useful employment. It has been estimated there are now approximately 2 million persons needing vocational rehabilitation.

Over 850 thousand disabled persons have been restored to useful work by the Federal-State program—almost 60,000 during the past year alone. This Administration has recommended and Congress has approved a continuing major increase in Federal funds. Most of the states have responded with matching funds, but others need to do more. We must continue to advance this work that brings such big dividends both from an economic and humanitarian point of view.

In the pattern of prevention we have been discussing, education is basic. For a strong system of free education, helping all our children develop to their fullest capacity, provides the cornerstone of economic success, individual opportunity, and a richer life for all.

It is significant, I think, that the birth of the labor movement in America, which is usually placed in the late 1820s, was marked by its dedication to the principle of free schools. The workers of that period realized that our democracy, as envisioned by the founders, could not endure and prosper unless each child had a full and equal right to an education. And so labor has been in the forefront along with many others in the long struggle that has produced our American educational system of today—a system which provides a higher level of education for a larger proportion of the people than any country in the world.

However, we are all aware of grave school needs. Every 10 minutes, new classrooms of children are reaching school age. Every 10 minutes, a new teacher and a new classroom are needed. This continuing increase in school age population, plus an accumulation of needs from past years, has created critical shortages of school facilities and personnel. A weakness in education in any part of the country is a concern to all.

To help solve these problems, President Eisenhower called for the first White House Conference on Education in American history, concluded last week. Even before this meeting, a half million interested citizens and educators met in more than 4,000 state and local conferences throughout the country. And so we have seen a great national awakening of public interest in schools. Nothing is more basic to overcoming current problems and helping avoid educational shortcomings in the

future. You in labor have had a large part in this rekindling of public interest. You have made a valuable contribution to the local, state, and national conferences. Your contribution to increased public support of education can be even greater in the future. Acting as individual citizens in your communities, and through your local and state federations, you can be a most potent force to see that our public schools are not neglected.

The President has said the lack of school facilities can no longer be allowed. This Administration has been at work continuously for many months, developing a plan of Federal assistance to help erase the nation's deficit of classrooms. I am confident we will present to Congress a broadened and improved program to help build thousands of schools for our children. At the same time, we believe strongly that states and local communities must continue to increase their efforts. And I hope you in labor will continue to use your influence for further expansion of state and local support of schools.

This Administration also believes firmly that Federal assistance, while benefiting all states, should be distributed according to need. We accomplish the most good for our total school system by giving more aid where the needs are greatest. It is perfectly possible, I am sure, for the Federal government to help build schools for our children without in any way endangering the freedom of local school systems.

We have also decided to recommend to Congress a major expansion and improvement in educational research and statistics under the Office of Education. This program will help all of us understand more definitely just what the problems are, where future problems may be developing, and what needs to be done about them.

The health, education, and welfare of the American people will yield best to progress, I believe, if we pursue vigorously a policy of prevention and elimination of need—of striking hard at the root causes of need instead of the surface symptoms.

We have reached a point in our social and economic development where tomorrow must be a part of today's thinking and planning. With prudence and wisdom we can, within certain bounds, shape our future.

There is no Federal activity in health, education, and welfare which does not directly affect the interests of labor—and hence, the individual worker and his family. At the same time, there is no labor activity which does not have some bearing on the health, education, and welfare of the country. We have, therefore—you in labor and we in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—a mutual responsibility, a concert of interests.

In acting together, through foresight and planning, we do not seek economic gain or creature comforts for their sake alone. We seek these things as a means—as a means for each person to find dignity and a fuller expression of the human spirit. To this end, you in labor and we in government are dedicated.

Thank you very much.



**PRESIDENT MEANY:** In behalf of the delegates in this Convention, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Secretary Folsom for his visit here this morning and for the very instructive talk that he gave us on the work of a department in which we have a prime interest. I am sure that I express your wish to him by saying to him, thanks very much for being with us, Secretary Folsom.

### INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS MOBILE HEALTH CENTER

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time I would like to make an announcement which I think is appropriate at a time when we are talking about health and medical care. I am sure you are aware of the tremendous interest in this subject, not only on the question of taking care of people when they are sick, but also in the field of preventive health service. A number of our unions throughout the country have built health centers and any number of our unions are interested in the maintenance of hospitals.

However, I want to refer to a new development in this field that was created by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union—a mobile health service for members. Outside the door of this Convention Hall, you will find a Mobile Health Center—in other words, a health center on wheels that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has stationed there and that they will keep there throughout the remainder of this Convention. This mobile unit is designed to bring diagnostic health care work directly to the doors of the garment shops in the areas that are beyond the reach of stationary health centers.

I would also like to point out, with a great deal of pride as a trade unionist, that this unit, standing outside of our door here this morning is the only one of its kind that was put at the service of the State of Pennsylvania when the great floods hit the Stroudsburg-Delaware Water Gap areas and caused so much loss of life and so much suffering last August.

Generating its own power it ran a 3-day mission of mercy to thousands of those sufferers, and in particular they administered anti-typhoid shots to all of the people who desired them in this particular area. It was able to push through to small communities in the flood-stricken area, where doctors and medical care were not fully available.

In recognition of this splendid service at the time of this great catastrophe the International Ladies Garment Workers was awarded the highest honor in the State of Pennsylvania by Governor Leader, of that state, a Medal of Merit that had only been issued once previously, and that was when it was given to Dr. Salk, the man who discovered the polio serum.

This Mobile Health Center should be of great interest to all of the representatives here who may have similar

problems of health, perhaps, in smaller communities.

On behalf of the International Ladies Garment Workers, I invite all of the delegates at this Convention to inspect this unit which, as I said before, will be in front of this hall on 34th Street for the remainder of the Convention.

At this point Rev. Raymond A. McGowan was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** As I told you yesterday, the Arrangements Committee for this Convention arranged for talks by leaders of the various religious groups. We had the first of these addresses yesterday when Dr. Goldstein addressed us.

I now take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you one who has had a long interest in the work of the trade union movement, one who was for many years National Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, one who is known personally to practically all of the delegates in this hall.

I am very happy to present to you the Rev. Father Raymond A. McGowan.

### REV. RAYMOND A. MCGOWAN

#### National Catholic Welfare Conference

For the benefit of the record, let me say that about midnight last night I got disgusted with what I had written some two or three weeks ago and spent an hour in the early morning rewriting the talk. That I am saying not only for the record but also for the past. It is not that what I had decided to say two weeks ago was wrong or that what I decided last night about midnight was right. Every day makes its own record, and that is the truth.

I like the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations primarily because I liked both of them when they were separate. Now that they have come together I can like them all the more. I like not only the American Federation of Labor but also the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and, believe you, at one time it was a great difficulty to try to keep from liking both of them. People would say to me, "How can you like the American Federation of Labor and also like the other?" Or vice versa. Now I can like both of them. Now I don't have any such difficulty of explanation. Now I can simply say I like the hyphen.

I like the hyphen for a number of reasons, but I think the main reason is that because to my mind it can do the work that the two organizations did and can do it, I believe, more effectively. That work was a good work. It was fundamentally down the lines of my own thinking. But because I couldn't do anything as a priest except talk to people, I was delighted to meet people who thought as I thought. I was delighted to meet people who went out and tried to work directly around the bargaining table or by striking or whatever other method was necessary to obtain the things I wanted.

Fundamentally what I wanted and fundamentally what I still want is morality in economic life. Fundamentally you people wanted the same thing and you still want it. You want

a good living for the people in industry. You want also to share in the increasing productivity of our times, to which you are entitled. You want also such a division of income as will provide steady employment.

I think those are all matters of moral obligation. Because I think they are matters of moral obligation, I have been all the more taken by the labor movement and I have come to look upon the labor movement as primarily an arm for effective economic morality in the United States.

That is a big thing, I think. It is an extraordinary element in American life. If we didn't have a great body of men and women organized and primarily dedicated to the establishment of morality in economic life, we would be indeed a deplorable country.

We were a deplorable country when the labor movement began to weaken back in the 20s. We were a deplorable country, as was proven by the fact that 1929 came. With the coming of 1929, there came also a depression far deeper than anything we have seen in this country and a depression that lasted longer and longer.

Let's get back to that first thing. To me it is the first. It is whether or not a great body of people in the United States, especially the working people, will realize that there is such a basic thing as morality in economic life and will go off and try to get it put into effect.

They would think, as I think, that a man having the right to enough to support himself is a very basic thing. They will think, as I think, that people have the right to share in the increasing productivity of our time. They will also think that there should be such a set-up as to the division of incomes as will provide steady employment, as far as incomes alone will do so.

There are a body of men who look upon this as something that is necessary to be obtained directly and deliberately and consciously. They do not follow that old idea, which told us and still tells us that if we all just live in some kind of a jungle of economic anarchy these things will come sooner or later anyway. That idea is still held by some people, but it is not held by me any more. The working people of the United States have never held it, and as they became more conscious of their needs, more conscious of their possibilities, more conscious of their dignity, more conscious of their brotherhood, they went into labor unions.

They went into unions to try to put into effect precisely the things that I think have to be put into effect as a primary matter of moral obligation. Thinking that way, they joined you. It was a difficult thing to do. You know it better than I do, some of the older among you, although I have talked at great length with younger men who were battling on the picket lines and who spent weeks and months in jail simply to effect the right of labor organizations to exist, the right of themselves to organize. Those particular days have gone in most parts of the country. The labor movement has done an extraordinary thing.

Another thing I like about the labor movement—and it is implicit in what I have said before—is that the labor movement in many countries over the world has been attracted by the idea that if there were some gigantic employer hiring everyone, that is to say, the government, everything would be perfect. They wanted to turn their consciences, their rights, their responsibilities over to the great employer—government.

The American labor movement has never thought that way. They never thought that way back before Russia approved the plan and found that it was wrong. They held on to the more basic thing, which is the direct and immediate and conscious demand of people to make things right here and now and not in some future economic Utopia, either the Utopia of the old class of economists or the Utopians who believed in turning everything over to a gigantic government.

Believing this way, acting this way, the American labor movement has always been, to my mind, right down the alley of my own beliefs, right down the alley of my own thinking. I thought that when the two of you were separate organizations. Now that you are stronger, now that you have merged, I think so all the more.

I think so all the more because there are many opportunities for you in this country. There are opportunities of organizing that you know much more about than I. There are opportunities of getting better legislation; and, may I add, better administration of whatever legislation exists. May I add also better state legislation, because our states have lagged far behind the Federal laws in the protection of the right of labor to organize and in the protection of wages and working conditions.

These are possibilities before you now in greater measure than they were when you were separated. For those reasons, I am in favor—very much in favor—of the merger, and I think that you will have a future before you that will far exceed your present anticipations.

There is another reason that this is down the alley of my own thinking. Some years back the American Federation of Labor issued a program called "Industry's Manifest Duty." More recently the Congress of Industrial Organizations has developed a program called "Industry Councils." I think if you will read over these two programs you will find that they are identical in principle. There has been difficulty in putting either of those two principles into effect, although I think they are one principle, when you were separated, when you had the competition and the personal and other difficulties that are bound to exist between people of different organizations. It has been difficult for you to put them into effect. I think you have more of an opportunity of doing so now, and I hope that you will be able to take advantage of the opportunities.

There is still another reason. A number of years back the American Feder-



ation of Labor, like the American people, were not very much engrossed in the foreign relations of the American people and with the foreign relations of the American labor movement. I say that, in spite of the fact that Samuel Gompers, back after World War I, was primarily instrumental in bringing into existence the International Labor Organization. But in recent years there has been much more interest and much more activity by the labor movement in its foreign work. That part of it is not only a matter of helping to bring into existence a Free Trade Union International, it has, to my mind, not only been helpful in drawing the lines against Communist encroachment and invasion; it has been helpful in still another way, too. It has been helpful in organizing the unorganized in foreign countries. And far more important, it seems to me in the long run is this; the American labor movement is counteracting some of the propaganda of some of our Americans in their work and life abroad. This propaganda has been directed toward the notion, in many a country, that about all that was necessary was for those countries to imitate the United States, and that the United States was still a 19th century country in its economic setup and construction. That of course is not true. But American businessmen and their propagandists abroad have often laid it out, and I know from personal experience, they have often laid it out that the United States is a country dominated by businessmen of the 19th century variety, unaided and unprotected by government, unaided and unprotected by their own trade associations, unaided and not dealing with American trade unions. They have given that impression.

In some other countries, and I know of this from personal experience, in some of the countries some of the people have said, well, that kind of 19th century economic set-up is wrong. The only alternative then is communism. And they have been going somewhat in despair at the idea of trying to make internal changes in their own countries, internal changes in their own economic life that would advance their industrialization that is so necessary and would also advance social justice in their country.

I have found that in some Latin American countries, and I have found that in a couple of European countries, and I think the American labor movement has done an extraordinarily good job in part way anticipating this propaganda and also in answering it, once the propaganda seed has been sown.

There are many, many other things that I can speak of that make me happy about this merger now. I have been for it for a long time. Now that I am in somewhat semi-retirement, I can't do as much work in the labor movement nor for the labor movement as I used to. But believe me, whatever I will be able to do from now on will be done in far better spirit than it was done in the past, because I will be thinking that you are not two separate organizations now. You are one organization. You have a great future before you.

When George Meany received the special award from Notre Dame University a short time back, I took pleasure in sending him a telegram saying that I thought the American labor movement was a providential agent in the world for both our country and for social justice. I thought so then when you were two organizations, because I thought then of the American labor movement being divided into two labor parts. I think so now, now that you are one organization.

May God bless you in your work; may God help you with His providence so that you will take these principles and get the right policies and applications from them; so that you will be able to run your unions honestly and with integrity, and so that you will be able to organize more people; so that you will be able to influence the Federal Government and especially the state government to pass better and more sound legislation, and to get better action on the laws that are best.

All these things lie before you. There will be many difficulties. There are always difficulties in cases of this sort, but the difficulties I think you can overcome, and I hope you will overcome them. May God bless you during the rest of this Convention and all the rest of your lives.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate this very fine address from one who has been a real friend of the trade union movement for many, many years. In your name, I would like to express to him our very sincere thanks for coming here today and giving us his thoughts on the very important question of ethics and morality in the labor movement. Thank you very much, Father McGowan.

At this time it is my pleasure to give you, one of our own, the head of the world's labor organization of free men. I think it is significant in this connection that today, December 7th is Pearl Harbor day, a day in which we recall to memory the entrance of our country into World War II, which was precipitated by the attack made on our forces in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. It was on that day that all of America laid aside whatever differences existed between various segments of our people and concentrated with one mind and one heart to defend our way of life, to defend the way of life that makes it possible for free men together, one with another, to form trade unions in order to advance the standards of life and of work for all.

Out of that conflict, delayed a few years, however, there came into being the organization which we know as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an organization dedicated to the basic philosophy of the trade union movement in every country in the world.

It is with a great deal of pleasure—and I ask your very close attention—for me to present to you, the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, also the General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, the friend of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Brother Omer Becu.

**MR. OMER BECU**  
**President, International Confederation**  
**of Free Trade Unions**

I have often had the pleasure of attending gatherings of American trade union friends, but never has my satisfaction been keener than on this momentous occasion when we celebrate the merging of these two great organizations, the AFL and the CIO.

You know that I bring you greetings and good wishes as President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Both the AFL and the CIO have been staunch members of the ICFTU since its inception. Indeed they took no small part in its formation, and we have always looked upon them as twin pillars of support of the International.

It therefore gives me great pleasure and certainly of all of us in ICFTU the profoundest satisfaction that these two stout pillars have now become one. For we are firmly convinced that standing together they will be immensely stronger than standing apart.

To speak of the AFL and the CIO as pillars of support of the International is not a mere figure of speech. The importance of these organizations to the ICFTU is so great, the implications of their fusion affect us so closely, that I feel justified, Brother President, in going slightly beyond the immediate assignment of the fraternal delegate, and, in conveying to you the heartiest and sincerest wishes and felicitations of the International, to dwell a little on how your great experiment in labor unity is seen by fellow trade unionists in other countries.

Please do not think that I wish to encroach on your domestic affairs. But such is the import of the event—not only to the American trade union and labor world, but as a living demonstration of something that is of transcendent value—that I am sure you will not regard my remarks as interference.

The significance of this merger to the American workers cannot be overestimated. American labor has already achieved a standard and a way of life which is the wonder of the world. No doubt, this high standard is in the first place the result of the stupendous advance of science and technology and of their application to the production and distribution of wealth.

But there is no doubt either that this progress in the economic sphere would not have been possible without a parallel development in the social sphere, without the emergency of an enlightened working population able and willing to play its part with the other factors of the community in bringing about the new society.

I see no reason why the process should stop, why the interplay of economic and social forces should not continue to bear fruit in the form of a constant rise in material standards. I cannot help feeling that the consolidation of labor unity being consecrated today marks another phase in the process. The fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO represent a force whose right to a square deal is well-nigh irresistible.

The especially important thing about your merger is that it means an increase in the internal as well as the external strength of American labor. The increase in the external strength of such a constructive force as the AFL-CIO is already a good thing. The increase in internal strength is no less important.

In a trade union movement so continental in scale as the American, complete harmony and tranquility cannot prevail all the time. It would be very peculiar if they did. The split which occurred in the early thirties is still vivid in our memories. It was not so much over a question of high principle as over the best form of organization. There was no disagreement about the objective: to serve the best interests of labor; only as to the best way to reach it.

At the time it seemed all-important to choose between the industrial and the craft form of organization. Today I think it is recognized that there is great merit in both, that the two can well exist side by side, and that the really all-important thing is not so much to choose one form or the other, but to utilize both for the best advantage of labor and for the speediest attainment of the objectives of social justice and human rights.

The dualism which we witnessed in the American labor movement in the intervening years has been anything but fruitless. It has resulted in a testing of two alternative methods which has brought out the value in both, in a vigorous rivalry of endeavor which has brought much advantage to labor. Great credit is due to the clear-sightedness of the leaders who saw the need for experiment and transition and again for their vision today in seeing the need to bring it to a close and to build a united movement based on the experience which has been gained.

The fact, then, that there is controversy, spirited controversy, in the American trade union movement is only normal. It would be serious if differences were allowed to undermine and finally destroy the fundamental unity of the movement. This merger, however, is a living demonstration that this is precisely what is not going to be allowed to happen. It is proof sufficient that the American workers and their leaders understand that there is a time to argue, but also a time when argument must cease.

As long as there is this basic recognition: that there comes a point when men must compress their differences and pull together towards a common objective; then there is little danger in continuing discussion on matters on which minds are still divided.

This is how I see the AFL-CIO merger: as a structure within which there will be a variety of views on many issues; but on the crucial ones there will be unanimity of outlook and unity of purpose. There will be recognition of a simple yet great truth.

Inside the AFL-CIO all sections can pool their resources and work for common ends under common policies. Inside the AFL-CIO, too, all sections can retain their own individuality and go their own way, as long as they respect the common interest. This, I feel,

Brother President, provides a sure foundation for one of the greatest advances in trade union history. Difficulties there will be; it is from a serious facing up to them that the inspiration and the energy must come for the realization of ever greater unity and strength.

This merger, I have said, is if possible, of even greater significance to world labor than it is to American labor itself. For the following reasons:

Firstly, it shows world labor the lesson which has to be learned from American labor. It is a lesson often taught in theory, but here is taught by practical demonstration: that in unity lies strength; that unity is possible on matters on which the issue is clear without prejudice to matters which are still in dispute; that centralization and concentration can be achieved at the top, without stifling development and individuality at the base.

If this lesson can be widely learned and applied by free labor if it is understood elsewhere that it is quite realistic to reach agreement and co-operate in one sphere, while continuing to differ in another; that, to be more specific, differences on inter-sectional or inter-union levels need not obstruct unity on national and international levels, the way is clear for a big step forward by free trade unionism as a factor in world affairs.

The second reason why American labor unity is of world import, is quite simply, that labor in other countries, that is, in the underdeveloped countries, looks to you for support and guidance. This is a theme I have developed on many occasions. You can look at it in two, maybe three ways.

It is a dictate of common humanity to help the weaker brother. The appeal of this kind of view to the American mentality is very strong. The other is that two diametrically hostile ideologies struggle for possession of the brother. If he is to be a brother, and not an enemy, we may not let him fall victim to the false ideology.

And while talking of the stronger helping the weaker and about ideologies hostile to labor, I must call your attention to two areas of dangerous tension and grave peril to our hope for peace.

When we adopted the slogan "Bread, Peace, and Freedom" in 1949 we did not do so with the intention of playing with words. To us of the ICFU, this is not a soapbox slogan. It is far more than the battle cry of an army of propagandists. To us, "Bread, Peace, and Freedom" is a flag. It is a program of action.

As I think of this call to action, I think of the crisis now gripping Berlin. The Kremlin warlords have ordered their East Zone puppets to prepare the ground, to move step by step, for blockading Berlin anew. They want to rob the heroic people of Berlin of all "Bread, Peace, and Freedom". That's exactly what a Communist blockade of Berlin would mean.

This battle for Berlin is not a small skirmish. It is not a local action. The battle for Berlin is a battle for the bread, peace, and freedom not only of the besieged Berliners. It is really a fight for the preservation of the Federal German Republic, which is the home of fifty

million free Germans, more than six million of whom are free trade unionists. Therefore, what comes out of this fight will greatly affect the bread, peace, and freedom of all of us in this historic convention, of all whom we have the honor and the responsibility to defend, of every nation on earth.

The Kremlin wants to grab all Berlin because that would hasten and practically insure its seizure of all Germany. The Kremlin wants all of Germany, because that would really assure its seizure of the rest of the continent of Europe. The Kremlin wants to grab all of Europe, because that would enormously facilitate its conquest and Communist enslavement of the world.

I am confident that the democracies will, in 1955 and 1956, meet and beat a Communist blockade of Berlin, at least as effectively as they did in 1948. The free world then showed its humanitarianism, courage, and devotion to democracy by organizing the great and inspiring airlift.

I know I voice the hopes and convictions of all my colleagues in the ICFU when I say to you that world free labor and liberty-loving people everywhere will give their fullest support to an "Airlift For Bread, Peace, and Freedom," in order to beat a Communist blockade of Berlin, in case it is ordered by Moscow. We have the will to be free. We have the strength to be free. Berlin shall be free, so that we may all be free.

It has been said that the best defense of freedom is the practice of freedom. That is entirely correct. But to practice freedom, one must first believe in it. More than that we can't build an alliance of the free by encouraging, helping and trusting those who detest freedom and destroy the free men and women of the country.

I wonder why the indecent haste to smuggle or sneak into the U.N. Franco Spain and the Muscovite puppets of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania and Outer Mongolia. I can see why totalitarian Russia wants them in the U.N. But I can't for the life of me see what the free nations have to gain by getting into the U.N. these totalitarian puppets, these regimes imposed on the people by Russian rifles and tanks.

The mere fact that some people call it a package deal should fool nobody. We think it would be a terrible mistake for the U.N. to repudiate its previous decisions to exclude these regimes which have been imposed on the people by dictatorial forces. If there is room for Franco and the Communist totalitarians in the U.N., there is no room for freedom or the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

We of the ICFU have great faith in the U.N. We are counting on its becoming a mighty instrument of peace and freedom. But no one can build the U.N. into such an instrument of peace and freedom by adding to it more enemies of freedom and by encouraging and rewarding the Communist aggressors to organize more subversion and to try to grab still more loot.

I warn you, my friends, against the timebomb hidden in the so-called package deal for Franco and the Communist totalitarian puppets.

Another consideration is that already American living standards are far

ahead of those of the rest of the world. There is danger in a situation in which one country builds up ever higher standards, while others lag behind and become, comparatively, more and more under-developed. From this point of view also it is a matter of common interest and self-interest to bring about as even as possible a development in the world.

So, on all counts the practical and the ethical approach mutually reinforce one another. The title of the democratic forces to the maxim, "All for one and one for all!" is as good as, nay, better than, that of the totalitarian forces.

The consolidation of the AFL-CIO union is thus seen not only as a strengthening of American labor as a force in home affairs; it means also that American labor can play an ever bigger role in the world at large.

As President of the ICTFU these prospects cannot but give me the keenest satisfaction. All your friends in the ICTFU will watch your great experiment with tense interest and warm sympathy, both for your sake and their own. May those called upon to guide it find the wisdom and the vision, may they also find all the loyalty and support which they will need for their task.

In conclusion, let me extend once more to this historic gathering the heartiest good wishes for success and achievement of the many millions of workers all over the world who make up the great brotherhood of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you very much, President Becu, of the ICTFU. Let me assure you of the continued cooperation and support of this good organization which we have brought together here this week.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE—(Continued)

... Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution:

### ETHICAL PRACTICES

The democratic institutions of the United States of America were established on the foundation of honesty, integrity, responsibility. The free and democratic labor movement of our country similarly rests upon the foundations of brotherhood, honesty and integrity.

Any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful not only to the people directly affected but to the whole fabric of our civilization.

The American labor movement has ever been quick in its denunciation of public officials who betray their trust. We have been equally critical of businessmen who have used corrupt methods and bribery to gain their selfish, acquisitive ends. We must be equally quick to recognize and condemn those instances of racketeering, corruption, and disregard for ethical standards when they occur inside our labor movement.

The vast majority of labor union officials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry

out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions.

By the adoption of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American labor movement has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement "from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining effort of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism." Only by their wholehearted dedication to this constitutional objective can labor unions meet their obligations to their memberships. Failure to meet these responsibilities can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade union functions. Reliance on the agencies of government for keeping our movement free from the infiltration of racketeers, crooks, Communists, Fascists and other enemies of free democratic unionism would constitute a threat to the independence and freedom of the entire movement; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED, 1.** The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

**2.** This First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices, and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization "free from any taint of corruption or Communism."

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the resolution on Ethical Practices. The motion is to adopt and the motion was seconded.

For discussion the Chair calls upon Vice President Carey.

**VICE PRESIDENT CAREY:** Mr. President and delegates, the concept and the function of ethical practices in a great democratic labor movement cannot be wholly negative. That is to say, ethical practices do not consist merely in our putting ourselves on

record against "corruption and Communism."

Ethical practices are not merely "against" something; they are "for" a certain kind of attitude and behavior. Ethical practices, in short, comprise a positive code of conduct. And an ethical practice code requires of the labor movement and its leaders the highest moral standards in conducting union business and discharging our official responsibilities.

It is possible, I think, that too often we take for granted one exceedingly important area of trade union operation where ethical practices are probably more essential than anywhere else.

I refer to our handling of union revenues and funds, and particularly to the kind of accounting we give to our members of the way in which those revenues and funds are maintained or disbursed.

There is general agreement. I believe that those instances of corruption and malfeasance which we deplore and which have sometimes shadowed the reputation of democratic unionism have all been made possible, even been encouraged, by the absence of full financial reports to union members.

More often than not malfeasance and illicit diversion of funds have occurred behind a dark curtain of ignorance, of carefully cultivated obscurity. But wherever union members are given the opportunity of scrutinizing regular—and I emphasize regular—comprehensive financial reports, the incidence of corruption drops enormously.

It follows, therefore, that the best of all possible insurance against unethical practices in the labor movement is to provide our union memberships with full and detailed accountings of what happens to their money.

Needless to say, I mean much fuller and much more detailed accountings than are required by Federal law. Union members should regularly receive comprehensive reports not just on the organization's general fund but on such moneys as those in the defense or strike fund, building fund, welfare and insurance funds.

Union members, moreover, should receive these reports not as a matter of privilege and condescension but as a matter of right. It is a union's sacred obligation, I feel, not merely to handle every bit of revenue and every expenditure with the utmost scrupulousness; it is the union's obligation also to acquaint the union member with the full facts concerning receipts and disbursements.

Such practice is, of course, a fundamental aspect of democratic unionism. We hold that not only does democratic unionism require the membership's familiarity with its organization's financial affairs; democracy in union life also requires that the members participate to the maximum extent possible in making financial decisions.

This has been a guiding principle throughout the brief, six-year history of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. We have been proud of our annual financial reports prepared by an independent auditing firm, Main & Company. These reports, as comprehensive as we can make them, reflect all accounts, receipts and expenditures under the jurisdiction of the IUE's International Officers. Such reserves as the IUE's defense fund and a fund for erection of our international headquarters, the Philip Murray Building, are given detailed consideration.

We are proud, also, of the regular reports provided to our members by the IUE's International Trustees, who are elected officers and who also review all aspects of the Union's fiscal policies and operations. In this way the IUE maintains a triple-check on its own financial functions—reports by an independent auditing firm, review by the International Trustees, and, finally, scrutiny by the membership.

Because we do take pride in this financial frankness with our members, the IUE wants today to be the first affiliate of the AFL-CIO to file a full financial statement with Secretary-Treasurer Bill Schnitzler.

Brother Schnitzler, I am sure you will find this a comprehensive and candid accounting of the IUE's fiscal status and its future prospects.

President Meany and Brother Schnitzler, I take great pride in presenting the full and complete financial audit of the financial affairs of the IUE—AFL-CIO.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

If not, those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; those opposed, no.

The motion is carried and so ordered.

## INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT CONVENTION

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce that this afternoon at the conclusion of the session, just as early as we can get through, there will be the first Constitutional Convention of the Industrial Union Department Convention of the AFL-CIO. This convention will be under the temporary chairmanship of the President of the AFL-CIO. Delegates who are eligible to affiliate and whose credentials are approved by the temporary Chairman, acting as the Credentials Committee, will take part in the formation of this Department of the AFL-CIO.

We have here at the platform application blanks to be filled out by any organization desiring to affiliate and to be presented sometime prior to the close of our session this afternoon so they can be acted upon in time for the convention to meet and do its business.

At this time the Convention stands adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(At 12:15 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p.m.)



### THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:10 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom to continue the report of the Resolutions Committee.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions (Continued)

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following:

#### PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Every year hundreds of thousands of Americans are born with physical handicaps or acquire them because of industrial, automobile, and other accidents, or as the result of crippling diseases. Today, an estimated 30 million of our fellow citizens—men, women and children—suffer from some degree of permanent disability.

While about three million handicapped citizens are now employed, an estimated ten million others could be rehabilitated and usefully employed instead of being forced to remain an economic burden on their families, on their communities, and on the nation. To eliminate this economic discrimination, we must create the rehabilitation services and employment opportunities which are required to restore America's handicapped to useful citizenship, integrate them into the activities of our economic and social life, and give them the dignity which is the birthright of all mankind.

As the first step, the Federal and state governments must assume their full responsibility. Despite fairly recent Congressional action to increase federal funds for vocational rehabilitation and to encourage the construction of rehabilitation centers, an additional expansion must be undertaken if the rehabilitation of millions of citizens is to be achieved. Secondly, management and labor must assist aggressively in the process of integrating the physically handicapped into the labor force.

Unfortunately, the facilities of both public and private rehabilitation agencies are so limited that more persons are being permanently disabled each year than are now rehabilitated. Leadership in a comprehensive and vigorously administered rehabilitation program, nation-wide in scope, is a major responsibility of the federal government. The federal program and coordinated state program must encompass adequate medical services, special educational aids, income maintenance, vocational training and employment services.

Rehabilitation must be closely coordinated with workmen's compensation and disability programs to provide income for the disabled and their families during periods of unemployment and to insure prompt referral of each case to the proper rehabilitation agencies. Rehabilitation services must begin immediately after injury or at the onset of illness. Continuity of treatment must be planned through convalescence. Training or retraining in useful, suitable, and remunerative vocational skills must follow. Finally, restoration of the individual to employment at his highest attainable skill must be accomplished.

No program to secure employment of the handicapped can succeed without wider support from management and labor. While some employers have learned the value of the handicapped as productive workers, too many still discriminate against them. While unions are working diligently to encourage employment ties for the disabled, more needs to be done.

Organized labor has been represented on the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and has participated actively in its work, as have many labor representatives who are serving on similar governors committees in the various states.

The federal government is urged to conduct a census of the handicapped, and to bring together and expand all of the federal services for the physically handicapped in a new and vigorous administrative bureau in the United States Department of Labor, now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED, 1.** The problems of the nation's handicapped are the problems of all Americans. We commend our affiliates for the activities in which they have engaged on behalf of the handicapped citizens of our nation and urge that the efforts of our local unions, central labor bodies, and international unions be expanded to meet this tragic and growing need.

**2.** We urge the establishment within the United States Department of Labor of a centralized agency that would bring together the rehabilitation functions that are now scattered among many federal agencies, and give leadership to the rehabilitation services in the respective states.

**3.** While we applaud recent Congressional action to raise federal contributions for vocational rehabilitation and to construct rehabilitation centers under the Hill-Burton Hospital Program for the first time, we urge further expansion of these federal grants-in-aid programs so that millions of disabled citizens not now reached by them will be served.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

#### Amalgamated Meat Cutters— United Packing House Workers

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like to read a telegram which has just been received and which is of considerable importance.

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y.  
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO.  
71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Unity Committee of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the United Packinghouse Workers of America in meeting during this historic convention unifying the American labor movement and stimulated by the spirit of unity and dedication to the advancement of the interests of the working men and women of the nation are happy to advise you that we have reached an accord which we are certain represents the basis for an early merger of our two organizations.

RALPH HELSTEIN, President,  
G. R. HATHAWAY, Secretary-  
Treasurer, UPWA, AFL-CIO.  
EARL W. JIMERSON, President,  
PATRICK E. GORMAN, Secretary-  
Treasurer, AMC and BW, AFL-CIO.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Curran, who will continue with the report of the Resolutions Committee. I would ask that strict attention be paid to this report on the very important subject of foreign policy.

## FOREIGN POLICY

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following:

The United American Trade Union movement, in common with labor everywhere, has the greatest stake in the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom. Approaching the international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, we have the highest interest in building a world free from all dictatorship, poverty and war.

The free trade union movement cannot thrive, or even live, without democracy. In view of the enormous Communist threat to democracy, we of American labor face new significant tasks. At this critical juncture of history, we are in duty bound to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom and human well-being.

We of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: (1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever better and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. (2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. (3) Through cooperation with and assistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world peace.

On the threshold of the atomic age, the readiness and ability of the unified American labor movement to fulfill these basic tasks are especially important for the security, welfare and liberty of the entire American people and the international free trade union movement. The policies and the practices of the AFL-CIO can also be a source of great hope for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and the economically underdeveloped countries aspiring to national independence and human freedom and dignity.

At the "Summit Conference" in Geneva in July 1955, the leading democratic powers demonstrated their determination and readiness to secure international harmony and lasting peace. But at the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, November 1955, the Soviet Union demonstrated that it was willing to do little or nothing to remove, or even reduce, the causes which have produced the acute international tension of the last decade.

The U. S. S. R. has categorically rejected German national reunification in freedom—the holding of internationally-supervised free elections throughout the Soviet Zone and Berlin as well as the Federal German Republic. The latest reaffirmation of Soviet opposition to adequate international inspection and supervision has dealt a severe blow to the prospects for effective disarmament.

Soviet insistence on the dismantling of N.A.T.O. and the W.E.U. as well as on the withdrawal of American defense forces from Europe shows clearly that Moscow is not interested in security for the weaker nations but is maneuvering to render defenseless the remaining free countries of Europe.

Despite its "Big Smile" and big talk about removing the barriers to communications, Moscow is as unrelenting as ever in its opposition to any arrangement for free travel of individuals between the Soviet orbit and the free world. It is no less hostile to the reciprocal distribution of foreign books, newspapers, periodicals, and radio programs in the Soviet Union. This Soviet talk has been fully exposed at Geneva as having but one aim: The elimination of all barriers to the Moscow-Peiping Axis securing from the western democracies the latest technical knowledge, strategic materials, and up-to-date machinery it so sorely lacks. The Communist bloc desperately needs such vital assistance in order to ease the terrible armament burdens behind the Iron Curtain and to facilitate its building of a most modern and even more massive war machine for aggression.

Indeed, at the very moment that the Foreign Ministers were negotiating at Geneva, the Kremlin brought to a head one of its long-cherished and carefully prepared plans to provoke an armed conflict between Egypt and Israel and promote aggravated tension throughout the Near East. Mastery of this pivotal region is essential to the ultimate and unalterable aim of Communist imperialism—Soviet world domination.

Unlike preceding international crises, the present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is not a collision between two power blocs, in the old nineteenth century sense, but between two conflicting ways of life—democracy (despite all its imperfections), and Communist totalitarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. Soviet imperialism seeks to subvert and conquer the free world and remold all society in line with its Communist preconceptions of a new social order. This vital difference between the old imperialisms and the



new Soviet imperialism accounts for the continuous character of the present crisis as distinct from preceding ones.

The AFL and the CIO have notable records of opposition to world Communism and Soviet imperialism. Both have also resolutely opposed Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, Peronism and every other form of dictatorship. The united organization that has grown out of the merger of the two American trade union centers will not slacken in that opposition.

Fortunately, the American labor movement has not limited itself to verbal assaults on Fascism and Communism and rhetorical affirmations of democracy. It has been in the forefront of many constructive undertakings to aid the cause of free trade unionism everywhere. We have also in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a practical instrumentality for engaging and defeating the totalitarians in the fields and factories, on the ground where they have made their greatest bid for the allegiance of the peoples of the world.

The main objectives of sound American foreign policy are: (1) to foster good relations with other nations in order to preserve and promote enduring peace and freedom and (2) to encourage mutually advantageous trade and other relations with other nations—in order to advance their common economic stability and social well-being.

In every country, there is a close inter-relationship between foreign and domestic policy. Neither our government, nor any other government, can consistently pursue a genuinely democratic foreign policy, if it pursues a reactionary domestic policy. No government which wages war against its own people at home—by denying them their rights and liberties and by depressing their standards of life and labor—can be truly peaceful towards the peoples abroad and be worthy of their trust. A government guilty of aggression against its own people tends to be aggressive against its neighboring and other countries; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, Conscious of our responsibilities at this crucial period, the AFL-CIO herewith declare their support of the following guiding principles for an effective American democratic foreign policy and sound international labor relations.

1. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. It must have a clear and definite orientation and be consistent, sustained and vigorous in its application. Its motivating and paramount aims must be the mobilization of all our moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

2. Integration of our foreign political and economic policies is essential, if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising the purchasing power, and improving the

living standards especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

3. Undeveloped and underdeveloped continents and regions, where many hundreds of millions nurse their grievances and their hopes—constitute a fertile field for Communist operations. In dealing with rudimentary human problems the world over, we must be concerned primarily with two immediate needs—the need for food, health and irrigation in the underdeveloped countries, and the burning desire for independence and equality. By ministering to such fundamental needs we will be on firmer ground as we seek to win new adherents to the free world.

4. We know that Communism is a false solution; we believe that democracy is the true solution. Communism is weakened when democracy is strengthened. The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth defending.

5. Our country has done some of this. UNRRA was a beginning. American labor supported the Marshall Plan because it was conceived and largely administered in this spirit. Point Four was an imaginative gesture in the same direction but tragically all too little. Towards the same end, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), provides real possibilities for developing and expanding worthy projects for the fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the needy peoples. Our responsibilities include, but are not limited to, a firm and effective military defense of established positions against Communist subversion and aggression. Positive measures for social and economic betterment are an indispensable part of the program for the defense and victory of the free world.

6. Categorical rejection of any idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on any other nation and relentless opposition to the efforts of any power to impose its political or economic system on our country. Support for free peoples who resist attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures on their free institutions is vital.

7. While Communism is currently the main totalitarian threat to freedom and peace, we must be equally opposed to every other brand of dictatorship (Falangist, Fascist, Nazi, Peronist, Titoist) as reprehensible foes of human dignity, decency and liberty.

8. Welcome as our allies self-reliant, independent nations held together by binding principles and cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. Satellites or vassals herded together by fraud and force cannot serve peace and freedom. A common purpose, sense of urgency, and machinery for permanent cooperation are indispensable to the

collective security of the allied free peoples. The struggle for peace and freedom demands not only military strength sufficient to deter and defeat aggression but the development of the alliance into an association of free peoples for positive political and economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

9. Rejection of all colonialism—the old declining western as well as the new rising Soviet colonialism—should be cardinal to our nation's foreign policy. In line with our national traditions, positive steps should be taken to help all peoples aspiring to self-government or national independence under conditions which will enable them to assume equal status among the free peoples of the world. All peoples—in Europe no less than in Asia or Africa—who have been subjected to the yoke of alien despotism should be encouraged in their efforts to regain the right of self-determination which will enable them to choose the form of government they desire and enjoy national sovereignty and the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

10. While never shutting the door to negotiations with Moscow, our country and its allies must build up their political unity, economic power, and adequate military strength. Readiness to negotiate is not appeasement. It takes courage to meet aggression. It also takes courage to seek patiently and persistently for peaceful and acceptable settlements. Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression. Hence, our government should never assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin or any other totalitarian regime made through direct military aggression, threat of armed intervention, Communist subversion, aggression by proxy, or any combination of these methods.

11. In its efforts to lessen international tension and eliminate the vestiges of war bitterness, our government should make the strongest effort to hasten the release of all hostages forcibly detained by Moscow—either as war prisoners, fighters for democratic rights, or as striking workers imprisoned after the Soviet armed suppression of the June 1953 revolt in the Soviet Zone of Germany and in any other satellite areas.

12. Maximum efforts to seek gradual effective disarmament through adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed by provisions for strong non-vetoeable sanctions against all violators—with a view of ultimately assuring abolition of the atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

13. Until such time as an adequate system of world disarmament has been attained, the security and freedom of our country call for the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available military strength to deter and, if need be, defeat aggression. The defense efforts should be meshed with non-military economic efforts into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Only a prosperous and progressive, as well as powerful, America can make effective

and sufficient contributions to world peace, freedom and human well-being.

14. Invigorated efforts to promote international cooperation for enabling all mankind to share the benefits of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and technique. To assure the people's sharing equitably in the benefits of the atoms for peace program, the free trade unions should be represented in the planning and setting up of such projects.

15. It is imperative that there be a marked expansion of cultural, political, and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the entire New World to play a unified and greater role in the preservation of peace and the furtherance of freedom. An intensified effort to reinvigorate democracy is urgent in view of the recent defeat of Peronist totalitarianism in Argentina and the Communist-tainted regime in Guatemala.

16. In an effort to lessen world tension and remove dangers to world peace, the U.N. should adopt a universal policy of the holding of free elections in all divided and strife-torn areas with a view to employing peaceful means rather than war for establishing legitimate governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty. Despite continued Soviet opposition, the U.N. must persist in advocating free elections in the satellite states as well.

17. Particularly in view of the recent grave developments in the Middle East, our country and its allies in concert with the United Nations should take positive steps to prevent aggression in the Middle East, to improve the economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples—based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO urge the United States, Britain and France to re-affirm their Tri-Partite Declaration of 1950, and to implement it by enabling the Republic of Israel to obtain arms and all other means necessary for the maintenance of its territorial integrity and national independence. The best interests of our country and the needs of world peace and social progress demand that our government enter into a Mutual Security Pact with the Republic of Israel. Such a pact would be strictly defensive in character and would not be aimed at any neighbor of Israel. Such an American-Israel Mutual Security Pact might well serve as the model for similar accords between our country and the Arab lands, thus paving the way for a Middle East Mutual Security Treaty Organization embracing all the nations in this pivotal area, within the framework of the U.N. and dedicated to the furtherance of world peace and human well-being. Adequate economic, technical and military assistance should be made available only to those governments supporting these aims and prepared to cooperate in the peaceful solution of such pressing problems as the plight of the Arab refugees and the undisturbed use of the Suez Canal. American labor greets the Histadrut as the dynamic

force in the building of Israeli democracy. We further pledge ourselves to aid the development of free trade unions throughout the Middle East as the most effective instruments for advancing social progress, human freedom and stable peaceful relations among all the nations of this vital area.

18. American labor supports the U.N. and its Specialized Agencies and believes that efforts to build the U.N. into a more authoritative and effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations should be redoubled. It is our firm belief that the specialized agencies of the U.N. have aided the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by bringing to them the benefits of health, sanitation, and technical knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the American labor movement pledge our continued support to ILO, WHO, UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of prohibiting the admission into the U.N. of any regime which (a) has been imposed on any nation by a foreign power, (b) which exercises effective control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the U.N.

19. In accordance with our traditional stand, we favor cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain—a curtain which we have always sought to lift and the maintenance of which the Kremlin continues to enforce. We are firmly convinced that if it were possible to have such an exchange of ideas and information among the peoples of both sides of the Iron Curtain, it would always work to the advantage of the democracies. It is not we but the totalitarian regimes who have every reason to fear any contrast between the free world and the plight of the peoples under dictatorships.

20. The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlawed all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose the Moscow-Peiping Axis maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the sinister Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike.

21. In view of the intransigent So-

viet opposition to German national reunification in freedom and the restoration of the national independence of the satellite countries, speedy action should be taken to make the West European Union "a focus of European integration." We should seek to further European unity through economic aid and technical assistance to specific projects for free European integration, such as the establishment of a free Europe Authority to construct and operate continental oil pipelines; unify rail, water, and air transport systems; co-ordinate atomic energy, electricity and waterpower resources along the lines of the present Iron and Steel Community. The free trade unions of the co-operating countries should be drawn into the policymaking bodies of such projects in order to assure the great mass of the people sharing equitably in the benefits thereof. This implementation of the London-Paris Accords should be combined with a program to enable NATO to fulfill not only its primary purpose as a military defense body but in addition as an organ for greater economic and political cooperation in advancing peace, human rights, and improved living standards.

22. United American labor—the AFL-CIO—realizes the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence and prestige of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and of ORIT, the Regional Organization to which we belong. We urge our affiliates to join and participate actively in the work of the various International Trade Secretariats. The ICFTU will (1) become increasingly effective in promoting the economic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeat the Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the free trade unions; (3) play an increasingly effective role in aiding the working people of the underdeveloped countries to establish strong free trade unions which shall play an ever more decisive role in improving the conditions of life and labor and in advancing the cause of national freedom and democratic rights of the people; (4) and in developing into a most powerful force for building a world free from the perils of poverty, the terror of all despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

In this spirit, we shall encourage a greater knowledge of and a greater interest in international affairs among our membership, toward the end that the wage earners' great stake in our country's foreign policy will be more clearly recognized and reflected in its formulation and conduct.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion to adopt the resolution on Foreign Policy was seconded and carried unanimously.

### IMMIGRATION

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Immigration as follows:

In 1952 the Congress of the United States passed, over the veto of President Truman, the McCarran-Walter Act, regulating the conditions under which immigrants may come to this country, either temporarily or for permanent residence. The Act established many new restrictions on immigration, and provided new grounds on the basis of which persons who have been admitted may subsequently be deported. At the time of its passage, fears were expressed that the Act might be unfair in its treatment of immigrants and naturalized citizens.

Nearly three years of operation of this law have shown critical deficiencies in the law. To the extent that our immigration policy does not fully reflect democratic and humanitarian traditions of the nation, we suffer in our own self-esteem and forfeit the support of the other democratic nations.

Experience with the existing immigration quota system, in particular, has pointed up the need for amending the law. This system divides the total allowed immigration among the various countries on the basis of the national origin of the American population in 1920. Experience has shown that some countries send far fewer immigrants to the United States than their quota allows, while others—frequently those where there is the greatest desire for immigration—are able to send only a few of those who want to come.

In 1953, the Administration recommended, and the Congress passed, the Refugee Relief Act, designed to permit the entry of some 214,000 refugees from Europe on a non-quota basis. In the main, it was sound and desirable legislation. However, this law has been so administered that only a limited number of refugees has in fact been admitted. Furthermore, only a year remains before the Act is scheduled to expire.

We believe that admission of reasonable numbers of immigrants is of benefit to this nation; and that a fair and humanitarian immigration policy can be effected which would not undermine the employment opportunities of American workers. We assert the need for humanitarian treatment of those who, having borne the burdens of economic misfortune and war, now seek a new home and new opportunities within our borders; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1. We urge that the McCarran-Walter Act be revised and liberalized, to reflect the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our country and to provide an immigration policy adjusted to the present requirements of our own nation and of the entire free world.

2. The Congress should remove technical and restrictive provisions from the Refugee Relief Act so that there will be no further delay in admitting the full number of refugees authorized by the law. The present expiration date of the Refugee Relief Act should be extended if necessary to assure that at least the full number of immigrants presently authorized by that Act may be admitted.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the report.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** At this time I would like to present the President General of the American Flag Foundation, Inc., Mr. Arnon L. Squiers, who will make a presentation.

## PRESENTATION OF CITIZENSHIP AWARDS

**MR. SQUIERS:** Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, Mr. Schnitzler, officials, delegates and distinguished guests at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations: I am here as the President of the Flag Foundation of America to present, on behalf of our organization, citizenship awards to your distinguished leaders, Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther and Mr. William Schnitzler.

The Flag Foundation is primarily an educational organization for the preservation of the United States flag as a symbol of the United States of America and the defense of the principles and ideal for which it stands, a bulwark of strength at home and a beacon light of hope and freedom abroad; to promote the principles of representative government, freedom, morality, truth and justice, and to advance the cause of civilization and peace, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

When President Eisenhower addressed this Convention on Monday, he said, and I quote, "Your new national organization, as well as your constituent organizations, have a great opportunity of making your meetings the world's most effective exhibit of democratic processes. The American philosophy of labor if adopted globally, could bring about a world prosperous at peace, sharing the fruits of labor with justice to all men."

As President General of the Flag Foundation of America, I am happy to present this citizenship award to Mr. George Meany, the President of this great organization. Some years ago a similar award was presented to the late great President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. William Green. We congratulate Mr. Meany on behalf of our organization and on behalf of American citizens everywhere, because by his statesmanlike leadership, and that of your other leaders, he has brought about a union of the great labor forces of this country. That theme of unity in America should be carried further so that all Americans can work together to keep this country strong and prosperous as a bulwark against all foes, internal and external.

Mr. Meany, it is my pleasure to present this to you:

**"CITIZENSHIP AWARD PRESENTED TO GEORGE MEANY BY THE FLAG FOUNDATION OF AMERICA AS ITS HIGHEST HONOR FOR OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP IN THE CAUSE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP."**

It is signed by the President General.

... The award was presented to Mr. Meany.

MR. SQUIERS: Before I present the next award I would like to read from the precepts of the Flag Foundation of America, and I would ask you to give to me your close attention because it is on a subject dear to the hearts of all of us. It is entitled "The Flag Speaks."

### THE FLAG SPEAKS

Born during the nation's infancy, I have grown with it, my stars increasing in number as the country has grown in size; the domain over which I wave expanding until the sun on my flying folds now never sets.

Filled with significance are my colors of red, white and blue into which have been woven the strength and courage of American manhood, the love and loyalty of American womanhood.

Stirring are the stories of my stars and stripes.

I represent the Declaration of Independence.

I stand for the Constitution of the United States.

I reflect the wealth and grandeur of this great land of opportunity.

I signify the law of the land.

I tell the achievements and progress of the American people in art and science, culture and literature, invention and commerce, transportation and industry.

I stand for peace and goodwill among the nations of the world.

I believe in tolerance.

I am the badge of the nation's greatness and the emblem of its destiny.

Threaten me and millions will spring to my defense!

I am the American Flag!

It is my pleasure to present to the Vice President of your great organization, Mr. Walter Reuther, on behalf of the Flag Foundation of America, the citizenship award, and he now becomes the third recipient, along with the late William Green and President George Meany, for his distinguished, statesman-like leadership on behalf of American labor.

... An award similar to that presented to President Meany was presented to Vice President Reuther.

MR. SQUIERS: Now it is my pleasure to present a third award to Mr. William Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of your united organization. I will say that there is no more important post to be filled with ability and with energy than that of the Secretary-Treasurer of this organization.

Mr. Schnitzler, it is my pleasure to present you with this citizenship award. ... An award like that presented to President Meany and Vice President Reuther was presented to Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Mr. Squiers, and may I, on behalf of Vice President Reuther, Secretary Schnitzler and myself say to Mr. Squiers that I feel

that this citation on Citizenship Award from the Flag Foundation of America is really given to the AFL-CIO rather than to individuals, and also to say to him that I am sure this organization will always fulfill its obligation to our government and to the citizenry as a whole, so that we can merit this award given to us today.

Thank you very much, Mr. Squiers.

At this time I would like to present the Chairman of an outstanding American organization with which the trade union movement has had a close relationship, especially in times of great emergency, such as we witnessed here a few months ago in the devastating floods in the northeast section of our country. At that time the CIO and the AFL both gave full support to this organization and to the local authorities in alleviating to some extent the distress and suffering caused by those catastrophic floods.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the American Red Cross, Mr. E. Roland Harriman.

### MR. E. ROLAND HARRIMAN

#### Chairman of the American Red Cross

Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

The eyes of the world have been on your convention this week because your two great labor organizations have given a magnificent example of what we most need in human society—unity.

Millions of people have watched with admiration the good will, the understanding, and the harmonious teamwork that have brought together the AFL and the CIO.

It is a special privilege to be with you on this historic occasion. Only one simple reason brings me here—to thank you for all that you have done to further the work of the American Red Cross.

In many ways we have grown together. In all of the 10 service programs of the Red Cross—from service to the Armed Forces to first aid training, and from our water safety work to the blood services—you have strengthened us by your support. You have enlarged and extended our ability to carry out the public duties laid upon the Red Cross by tradition and by law through the lending of tens of thousands of helping hands to Red Cross in times of stress and strain.

You have done this in the true Red Cross spirit of neighbor helping neighbor, because you know that the Red Cross serves people without regard to race, color or creed. In thus aiding the Red Cross to be always on the job you have both helped your own members and your fellow-man in time of need.

It is an old axiom that when you want something done you call upon busy men and women to do it. Time and again the members of organized labor have demonstrated this truth. You have donated your blood for American servicemen and for the civilian sick and injured; you have made



your own job and that of others safer by promoting the Red Cross First Aid program; you have joined in our Annual Campaigns for members and funds; you have given of yourself in disaster operations. But in the Eastern States floods this year you served beyond the call of duty.

While the waters were still raging you joined your fellow citizens to do the rugged, back-breaking work of rescue, evacuation and emergency relief. And, when the time came to put the victims back on their feet, from all over the nation you answered the appeal of the Red Cross for disaster funds. More than \$1,000,000 from your unions poured into our relief fund; and the total would be far higher if we added what came from individual union members. So, labor demonstrated in no uncertain terms that, when the chips are down, we are one nation, one body of citizens, one brotherhood of man.

This is most gratifying because it speaks well for the future—a future in which your organization and the Red Cross have one goal in common: greater advancement of the welfare of the public we both are pledged to serve.

Toward this end we have been fortunate to have had in our councils Mr. Meany and Mr. McDonald on our national board and a host of your other leaders on our chapter boards all over the country.

We look forward over the years to a strengthening of the ties between us in our determination to serve our fellowman.

Mr. Meany, in appreciation of the generous assistance we have already received from the AFL and CIO, it is my great pleasure to present this certificate with the following citation;

**THIS CITATION  
IS AWARDED TO  
THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
AND  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL  
ORGANIZATIONS  
IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION  
OF THEIR OUTSTANDING  
CONTRIBUTION  
TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION  
THROUGH THEIR DEVOTED  
SUPPORT OF AND PARTICIPATION  
IN THE HUMANITARIAN WORK OF  
THE AMERICAN NATIONAL  
RED CROSS**

(Signed) ELLSWORTH BUNKER,  
President  
E. ROLAND HARRIMAN, Chairman

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to express the thanks of the Convention and of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for this citation which, I wish to point out, is a citation awarded to all of the men and women of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

in recognition of their contributions to and cooperation with the American Red Cross.

Thank you very much, Mr. Harriman.

Will the Committee escorting Mr. Thurgood Marshall kindly come to the platform?

... Mr. Thurgood Marshall was escorted to the platform by the Escort Committee.

PRESIDENT MEANY: May I ask that you give the speaker I am about to introduce your undivided attention. I am quite sure that he has a message for us which is important, not only to the members of our Union, but important to all the American people, dedicated as we are to the simple, fundamental values of equality that are written into the Constitution of the United States.

This man is well known. I am sure, to all of you. I am not going to try to list his accomplishments. I am merely going to say that he is the Special Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and that he, as the Special Counsel of that organization brought to a successful conclusion 20 months ago a long campaign to end segregation in the public schools of America.

I give you Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

## MR. THURGOOD MARSHALL

Special Counsel, National Association  
for the  
Advancement of Colored People

Mr. Meany, officers and friends: On behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and those we represent, I want to say that it is more than a pleasure and a privilege to be here this afternoon. I have condensed what I want to say on paper for a very simple reason: that is the only way I know to get something over in short fashion. I hope you will bear with me in reading, because I for one consider this one of the most important periods of our lives insofar as the actual practice of the survival of democracy is concerned.

We in the NAACP salute the merged AFL and CIO as an example of further consolidation of forces seeking justice for all Americans. The additional strength from this merger will most certainly be used for the benefit of the country in general. A large measure of the success in the fight for human dignity that has come about has resulted from the recognition by organized labor of the need of extending labor's fight from inside the plant to the community in general. So, those of us in the fight for justice for Negro Americans can now depend upon an even stronger support from this new consolidated arm of organized labor.

While great progress toward removing racial injustice from American life has been made in the past two decades, we have found that the real task is and will be the job of bringing established principles of law into everyday practice in local communities. Experience during the past two years has made it clear to everyone concerned that real opposition to law and order is being built up in areas of the South. This opposition is being built up on the local level.

In backward areas of the South, the so-called "good people" of these states have banded themselves together in organizations such as the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi and other similar organizations. These local groups have grown during the past six months into state organizations and will, in short order cross state lines. While these organizations are set up for the ostensible purpose of "using every lawful means" to preserve racial segregation and other forms of discrimination including the denial of the right to vote. In truth and in fact these organizations are creating the type of atmosphere which now makes it possible to run Negroes out of business, to discharge Negroes from employment and even to threaten and murder poor defenseless Negroes in Mississippi. Of course, the White Citizens Councils deny any responsibility for these murders. However, they cannot deny that they have created the atmosphere of disregard for the established law of the land. This atmosphere makes it possible for murderers to go free and unpunished. This atmosphere of lawlessness must be changed.

The murder of Rev. G. W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., for insisting on his right to vote, the murder of Lamar Smith for insisting on the right to register and the unprovoked murder of little Emmett Till has focused nation and worldwide attention on Mississippi. These murders and other forms of intimidation point up but definitely the complete absence of protection of civil rights for minority groups in the South. Of course, those of us who have been in this fight for any period of time have known of this lack of protection for Negroes along with similar lack of protection of the rights of organized labor in many areas of the South. It is a sad commentary to realize that many of us require cold-blooded murders in order to rally us to action. The whole vicious program against Negroes in the South will without doubt lead to further violence and pressures against organized labor. One of the biggest jobs ahead for this consolidated bloc of labor leaders is to organize the unorganized in the South. Recent developments of lawlessness and opposition to voting and desegregation of education makes it clear that organized labor must insist not only on organizing in the South but must insist that it be done throughout the South on a completely integrated basis without any compromise in the slightest detail to the segregated policies prevalent in areas of the South.

The Negro in the South has refused to compromise on the question of racial segregation in public education and other public facilities. Organized labor must refuse to compromise in its or-

ganizing even in the South. Between the two, we can rally other good forces of the South to the end that justice will prevail.

However, the inability of the United States Department of Justice to bring to justice those guilty of denying constitutionally protected rights to Negroes in the South points up the need for adequate Federal legislation to protect all of us in the exercise of our rights throughout the South. In other words, we must have Federal protection of the right to live, to speak out, to organize, and to insist upon our constitutionally protected rights. States such as Mississippi have demonstrated their unwillingness as well as inability to protect these rights. Therefore, we must use our combined strength to secure from Congress adequate anti-lynching legislation, anti-poll tax legislation and a strengthening of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes as a bulwark against unprovoked violence in our every day work. We must, in addition, insist upon strong FEPC legislation and necessary safeguards in Federal appropriations in schools, housing and other facilities which will prevent Federal money from being used to continue segregation in opposition to the law of the land.

It should also be noted that this vicious anti-Negro program extends to white citizens who dare to speak out for justice for Negroes. It is highly significant that in many areas of the deep South organized labor is being bracketed in the same position as the Negro.

In this great expansion program of bringing great industries into the South, organized labor has a more important task than ever before in seeing to it that the plants involved are not only organized on a completely non-racial basis but that the communities surrounding these plants are run in a democratic fashion which today means, according to the law of the land, the absence of racial segregation. Anything short of this will merely mean that the expansion program in the South will become a further example of extended racial discrimination on an even larger scale. At this late date, it goes without saying that organized labor has a terrific stake in vigorously opposing racial segregation in community life whether it be in the North or South.

Despite all of the organized opposition to desegregation, it is important to remember that the solid South is broken for the first time on the question of race. As of today, twelve of the seventeen Southern states are now admitting Negroes to graduate and professional schools. Some thirty-odd private universities of the South have opened their doors to Negroes and it is just a short matter of time until all will be opened up.

It is also worthy of note that on the elementary and high school levels, portions of either of the seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia have moved toward integration of public schools and this has been accomplished in less than two years. This is the type of progress that has solidified the unreconstructed areas which



are now more determined than ever to do everything possible to prevent integration of public schools.

In the latest drive toward desegregation as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions we have found that the good people of the South are either afraid or unwilling to oppose the pro-segregationist groups. We find that most of the Southern press is against integration of public schools. We find that church organizations for the most part will go no further than to merely adopt innocuous resolutions in favor of desegregation.

If the desegregation job is to be done, it will have to be done on the local level. If we are to be successful in this task we will need more than ever before the support of organizations such as those here represented who are in a position to transform resolutions into action programs on the local level.

The type of diehard opposition now being built up in the South will not disappear overnight and we cannot blow it away. It will only be removed by intelligent cooperative leadership of those Americans who have more at stake than others. Together we can do the job.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** In your behalf I wish to thank Mr. Marshall for his address this afternoon and to express to him the opinion that the organized labor movement of this nation will be able to more effectively carry out its tradition of non-discrimination and of civil rights for all, and that through this merged organization we will be able to carry on the principles both organizations in the past have adhered to, and implement those principles much more effectively than we have in the past.

Thank you very much, Mr. Marshall. I understand there is a very distinguished visitor who has dropped in to see us, and I am going to ask him to just say hello to you.

At this time the Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** A very progressive gentleman of a great State, the Hon. G. Mennen Williams.

#### **THE HON. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS** Governor of the State of Michigan

Mr. President, Brother Reuther, distinguished guests, members of the new AFL-CIO organization: Congratulations on the wonderful achievement of labor unity. I know this means greater opportunities and greater responsibilities. From my own experience, I know that you are going to meet this challenge to the great benefit not only of your own members, millions and millions of them, but to all of the people of the United States.

So I say to you, God bless you, keep on building.

Thanks a million.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you very much, Governor Williams. I am very happy you found the chance to drop in and see us.

## **REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)**

### **CIVIL RIGHTS**

... Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the resolution on Civil Rights as follows:

The AFL and the CIO have always believed in the principle and practice of equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Each federation has separately played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised to all by the Constitution of the United States.

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and dedicated to promote and defend the civil rights of all Americans. Its Constitution declares that one of its objects and principles is:

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

Another such object and principle of the new Federation is:

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy."

Our Constitution likewise provides for a "Committee on Civil Rights" which:

"Shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

Thus the AFL-CIO stands dedicated no less than its predecessors to bring about full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life.

### **Discrimination in Employment**

Both the AFL and the CIO have been pre-eminent in the campaign to secure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. This campaign has several different facets.

Both federations have in the past repeatedly supported and urged the enactment of Federal fair employment practices legislation, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

During the past year several states and municipalities have enacted fair employment practice laws or ordinances, but year after year the threat of filibuster by Dixiecrat Senators has prevented fair employment practices legislation from receiving any real consideration by the Congress. This determined minority has been able to impose its will upon the Congress because Senate Rule 22 invites filibuster by making cloture virtually impossible. The authority vested in the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives has likewise sometimes enabled that Committee to act as a roadblock to progressive legislation.

In 1953, President Eisenhower established the President's Committee on Government Contracts, a revival of a similar committee which had functioned under President Truman. The Committee's function is to coordinate and assist the federal departments and agencies in the enforcement of the clauses prohibiting discrimination in employment which all government contracts are required to contain. Representatives of the AFL and the CIO were appointed and are serving as members of this Committee.

This Committee has developed a strengthened non-discrimination clause, which specifically prohibits discrimination by government contractors in all phases of the employment relationship, including hiring, placement, training, promotion, tenure of employment and compensation. Since a large percentage of business firms have contracts with government agencies, this clause, if vigorously enforced, can do much to eliminate discrimination in employment. Already, on the initiative of the labor members of the Committee and with the cooperation of the international unions involved, the Committee has made limited progress toward eliminating discrimination in a number of industries and areas where heretofore discriminatory practices had prevailed.

Discrimination in employment, promotions or lay-offs because of race, color, religion, or national origin violates both the legal and moral rights of those who are discriminated against. Already substantial progress in ending discrimination in employment has been made by the negotiation and diligent policing of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements. By giving full support to these clauses, our affiliates can make a notable contribution toward the elimination of discrimination in a large sector of American industry. By creating appropriate internal machinery, our affiliates can assist in realizing these objectives.

#### **Removal of Segregation in Public Facilities**

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination. In response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas, and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacles anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution.

Unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of

flimsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a rallying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klan-type organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens.

There is every reason to expect that the Supreme Court will apply the doctrine of non-segregation to other types of public facilities, including all those which are supported or aided by federal or local taxes. It has already taken such action in the case of public parks. There have already been several lower court decisions to this effect, and even in the absence of such decisions, progress has been made in many communities in the elimination of racial barriers in trains and buses, public housing, public parks, and theatres and restaurants. The ICC has recently prohibited segregation on the nation's railroads and their facilities. In only a few years all branches of the Armed Forces have shifted from almost complete segregation to almost complete integration. Despite dire predictions of disaster, this change has been accomplished smoothly and without incident; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1. The AFL-CIO declares its strong support for an effective and enforceable fair employment practices act. We urge the enactment of similar legislation by all states and cities that do not now have such laws on their books.

2. As an essential preliminary to the enactment of civil rights legislation, and particularly of a fair employment practices act, we urge that the rules be so amended that the will of the Congress may not be stultified by a recalcitrant minority. Rule 22 should be changed to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

3. Our affiliates should see to it that employers with whom they deal who hold federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause required in government contracts. In addition, our affiliates should seek to have non-discrimination clauses included in every collective bargaining agreement they negotiate.

4. The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly supports the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. We urge all of our affiliated state and local bodies to work with other liberal forces in their communities to facilitate a peaceful and effective transition to an unsegregated American educational system. We urge the Administration to utilize the full powers of the federal government to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

5. We urge the Congress to enact legislation making lynching a federal crime, and to invalidate state laws requiring the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of the resolution.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the resolution on Civil Rights. The motion is to adopt. The Chair recognizes Vice President Carey.

**VICE PRESIDENT CAREY:** Mr. President and delegates, I rise in support of the resolution. All of us, I am sure, are exceedingly grateful for this inspiring address by Brother Marshall. In one sense, however, Vice President Willard Townsend, Vice President A. Philip Randolph and I can feel that we were the victims of discrimination, because doubtless everything that we were going to say in addressing ourselves to this question of civil rights was splendidly covered by Thurgood Marshall's remarks.

Therefore, I ask permission of President Meany and the Convention to place in the record the statement I have prepared to give.

I hope everyone will subscribe to this resolution so ably presented by the Resolutions Committee and co-Secretary Joseph Curran.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the motion and the request that Vice President Carey be permitted to put his full intended remarks in the record. Is there objection to that? Hearing none, we will vote on the motion with that understanding.

... The motion to adopt the resolution on Civil Rights was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Vice President Carey's complete remarks are as follows:

**VICE PRESIDENT CAREY:** Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Resolution before the Convention.

The issue of Civil Rights was high on the agenda of the basic principles that concerned the AFL-CIO Unity Committee during its negotiations leading to this historic convention. This issue has been high on the agenda of public discussion and political controversy for the last decade,—a decade marked by substantial progress, undreamed of a few years ago. Also, this progress has produced the paradoxical situation that finds many persons' civil rights being violated daily.

We, as a labor movement, have moved forward to carry out the principles enunciated in this Constitution. The majority of the organizations comprising the AFL-CIO have always believed in the principle of equal rights for all. The labor movement has always played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised by the Constitution of the United States.

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and dedicated. We are constitutionally bound to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share equally in the full benefits of union organization. However, being practical men, we also recognize that worthy ideals and principles are inadequate, unless we create machinery to implement and translate these ideals into reality. Therefore, we established constitutional machinery which we sin-

cerely believe provides the necessary tools. In view of our experiences and traditions, we believe the most practical kind of machinery for the implementation of this non-discrimination policy is a constitutional committee carefully drawn from a cross section of the new Federation.

This kind of machinery proved effective in the CIO. In 1942, we created the CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination which was succeeded by the CIO Committee on Civil Rights. We discovered shortly after the creation of CIO that enunciating a principle in a constitution was not enough. To put that principle into effect required machinery and concentrated effort. Without machinery, this principle would have remained a pious hope instead of becoming one of our finest traditions.

We found our next task was the creation of similar machinery in our affiliated international organizations and state and city bodies. Today, many of the former CIO unions have developed functioning machinery within their own organizations, constantly working to extend these principles to the local plant and community level. The next step was to recommend that our affiliated unions include anti-discrimination clauses in their contracts with management. This is where discriminatory patterns generally begin,—at the hiring gate, which in most instances, is management's sole responsibility.

Looking back, important milestones can be identified. One of the early milestones was the end of wage differentials based on race. This issue was fought out by a CIO union, aided by the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, to a successful conclusion before the old War Labor Board.

We joined the AFL at the end of the war in lending our experience and resources to President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. Boris Shishkin and I, working as a team, were successful in having many of the concepts that guide the labor movement accepted by this group of good citizens. The results of our efforts are reflected in the final report accepted by the American people entitled, "To Secure These Rights". Following publication of this report, the Supreme Court began to translate the Federal Government's responsibility to preserve the civil rights of each individual into decisions that are changing the patterns of American life. The Supreme Court, in 1948 declared that racially restrictive covenants were no longer enforceable in the Federal Courts. The Supreme Court banned discrimination in eating places in the District of Columbia. In a series of decisions in the field of education the framework of segregation was narrowed. These decisions eloquently reaffirmed that our Constitution can and should be color blind.

In retrospect, we can now see that these decisions were just a prelude to the important one. On May 17, 1954, and again in May, 1955, the Supreme Court unanimously and in clear unequivocal language, declared that in the field of public education, segregation has no place, that it is a denial of the equal protection of laws. This his-

toric declaration promises our children a greater and more equal share in our democracy than we experienced. Moreover, the Court lost no time in applying the doctrine of non-segregation to other Federal and local tax-supported institutions and facilities. We have associated ourselves with this point of view and have implemented it with every means at our command. In this struggle, although the NAACP has taken the leadership in forging the law into an instrument of social precision to accomplish these objectives, the labor movement has always been closely associated and identified with the NAACP and other like-minded groups in this struggle. We supported the NAACP financially and by filing amicus curiae briefs before the Supreme Court in this series of cases. But more important, we began utilizing our resources to implement these decisions through our machinery on the local level.

At the same time, we were working to put our own house in order. Our General Counsel and also a member of the Committee on Civil Rights, recommended we issue a directive that has proved to be prophetic and historic. We directed all state and city bodies to abolish segregated facilities in rest rooms, drinking fountains and other facilities. We banned separate meetings and functions on our property. This directive preceded the latest series of Supreme Court decisions declaring segregation in public facilities unconstitutional.

We next initiated a campaign to take the race tag off jobs. Working with one of our major unions, we began to develop a program designed to permit any worker, regardless of his color, to be promoted to any job which his seniority and skill entitled him to occupy. As this campaign has succeeded, we have developed tools and techniques available to other unions. This campaign marked the first time that the problems of discrimination in an entire industry had been attacked simultaneously.

We are confident that with the added strength and enthusiasm our new Federation will bring to this struggle, the advances of the last decade can be accelerated. We believe we can bring greater vitality to the task of completing democracy's unfinished business. We know in so doing we will immeasurably strengthen the American labor movement.

In view of the nature of its task, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee must be regarded as the agency in the new Federation responsible for the formulation of policy in this vital area. Broadly speaking, the committee should recommend policies and programs for our new Federation. It should develop procedures and programs for the consideration and acceptance of our International Unions and state and city bodies. The committee should be the spokesman with governmental agencies, for our new Federation. It should have the responsibility of maintaining appropriate relationships with approved private organizations working in this field.

The resources and skills of the committee will always be available to our

International Unions in working out the practical day-to-day problems that constantly arise as they seek to breathe life into our ideals. We must have faith—faith enough to dedicate ourselves to the realization of these values.

Also, we must clearly recognize that this task cannot be accomplished in a vacuum—it cannot be accomplished within the confines of the labor movement without, at the same time, fighting for the extension of these principles in the local communities in which we live and work.

We must constantly seek to strengthen those civic and community forces whose ideals and convictions and programs of action are consistent with ours. We must continue to support, plan and work with the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the many other organizations with which we share common ideological convictions.

The recent wave of terror and denial of constitutional rights in Mississippi and other Southern states must enlist our grave concern. They not only do violence to the rights and dignity of the victims but they do violence to you and me. Our constitutional rights are also attacked. The emergence of the "White Citizens Councils" in Mississippi, the "States Rights in North Carolina" the "Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation" and other similar organizations represent a new type of Ku Klux Klan.

We must realize that a more terrible, a new and more powerful type of Klan is attempting to rise in the South today than the Ku Klux Klan which followed the first World War. This time it is more dangerous, because it is ultra-respectable and does not hide behind sheets. This time it is openly led by prominent citizens, many of whom are elected local and state officials. This time it counts among its members and supporters: bankers, lawyers, powerful industrialists and plantation owners. It counts among its supporters state Governors, United States Senators and Congressmen.

Remember its birth! The White Citizens Councils came into being shortly after the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools. Its organization was inspired by a speech made by Senator Eastland.

While this movement was organized on the surface to mobilize public opinion to delay and prevent the enforcement of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in the schools, the real purpose behind this movement is to use the desegregation issue to stop economic and social progress in the South.

There is substantial evidence that the movement is directed at trade unions. This fear stems from the AFL-CIO announcement that we will launch an effective organizing campaign among the working people of the South. This can be demonstrated by the fact that among the leaders of this new subversive movement are a number of individuals active in the anti-labor organizations who succeeded in securing enactment of "right-to-work" laws in our Southern states.

On October 23, 1955, they merged into a Southern Confederation of Pro-segregationists, under the name of the "Federation for Constitutional Government", directed by John U. Barr, who has been a spokesman for the manufacturers' associations in the South, a leader in the Dixiecrat Party of 1948, and a leader in all of the anti-labor organizations created in recent years.

In Charleston, South Carolina, a successful organizing campaign, conducted in a rubber fabric plant by the United Rubber Workers, came to an end when the local unit of the White Citizens Councils applied economic and social pressure on the white members to withdraw from the union, because it included both white and Negro workers on an equal basis. Other examples can be cited.

Every area of the South, where these councils have been organized, and have become a political and economic power, the normal process of justice has been diminished. At the same time, this campaign of terror and intimidation is showing its effect among prominent Southern liberals who are silent and lonely and have not spoken out against this menace. Many of the large Protestant church denominations have gone on record as approving the abolition of racial segregation as a public policy. However, when the local ministers attempt to put their religious beliefs into practice, they are immediately threatened and intimidated by these White Citizens Councils.

Organized labor constitutes the only other group which has economic and political influence in these major industrial centers of the South. Unless we of the trade union movement and like-minded community groups develop a program to expose this type of subversion, our liberties and future union organizing campaigns will be jeopardized. Equally important, unless we act promptly and decisively, our local unions risk being infiltrated by these organizations with their totalitarian philosophy. Such a situation could well sound the death knell to our efforts to bring the benefits of trade union organization to Southern workers.

This development has underscored the need for Federal legislation which will arm the Department of Justice to protect the civil rights of each citizen. More than one hundred civil rights bills were introduced during the last session of Congress. Not one was debated or voted upon,—a negative record consistent with that of previous Congressional sessions. The Administration continued to exercise no leadership in bringing any of these bills out of committee. Moreover, this negative performance of Congress is a total repudiation of the platforms of both parties, which have repeatedly pledged support of civil rights legislation.

The reign of terror in Mississippi, where three Negroes have already been killed under lynch law conditions, has dramatized the helplessness of the Federal government in protecting the civil rights of all Americans. Thus the United States, which has protested brutality and violence throughout the world, now stands mute and helpless when brutality and violence are used

against United States citizens. This condition is the more tragic for these citizens were only seeking to exercise their right to vote and to enjoy other rights guaranteed under the Constitution. This cynical disregard of pledges by both major political parties will continue to leave our Government helpless, until we convince our elected representatives that there is a widespread demand and need for Congressional action on civil rights in the coming sessions of Congress. As President Meney has said, we must answer this challenge by increased political action.

Probably the most important event in the long history of the American labor movement is occurring in this historic convention. I am completely convinced that a united, democratic labor movement of 16 million Americans can be the greatest single force in our society for the swift expansion of civil rights and liberties in every sphere of our national life.

For the same reason our new merged labor movement should be more effective in organizing the unorganized, in legislative activity and politics because of its greater dedication and numerical strength. Our new movement must be more effective in both the quantity and quality of its efforts in the fields of civil rights and anti-discrimination.

Merger can be the threshold of a new future . . . a new future for the nation's working men and women, for the underprivileged and for minorities. Basically a unified labor movement inspires this hope!

The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

### CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INTERNAL SECURITY

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Civil Liberties and Internal Security, as follows:

This Federation is proud that the labor unions of America have traditionally stood in the forefront of the fight for the preservation and expansion of individual civil liberties. We are proud, too, that the unions comprising this Federation were among the first to point out and take steps against the dangers to our freedom and security posed by international Communism. The fight to protect this nation against Communist aggression must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist threat must and can be met without endangering our traditional liberties or impinging upon the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

International Communism is a menace to the United States and to democratic nations everywhere because, as an instrument of Soviet aggression, it is backed by the armed might of the Soviet Union. To meet this threat we and our Allies need military forces sufficiently strong to deter and resist any attack which may be launched by the Soviet Union or its allies or puppets. Our nation's security and freedom must not be offered up on the altar of a balanced budget.

We do not believe that the Communist movement in this country poses, absent armed Soviet aggression, any serious threat to overthrow our government. Nevertheless, it does serve



as a recruiting ground for traitors, spies and perhaps saboteurs and its adherents are making every effort to obtain the nation's most guarded secrets. These dangers call for vigilant counterintelligence work, and for vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws and for an effective security system. They do not call for us to adopt the methods of our totalitarian foes, or to ourselves weaken the liberties we seek to protect.

Developments over the past year on the civil liberties front afford considerable ground for optimism. This is the first time in several years that this has been so; and we are gratified at the important role the AFL and the CIO played in promoting increased concern for the protection of individual rights. We note with genuine satisfaction these advances for civil liberties:

1. Improvements have been made in the procedure of Congressional Committees.

For several years a major threat to our American system of government has come from persons who, under the cloak of professed anti-Communist zeal, have violated the fundamental rights of the individual which are the core of our democracy. While some Congressional investigations, without endangering civil liberties have effectively exposed the extent of Communist infiltration in American institutions, other loosely conducted Congressional investigations were used to spread unfounded accusations and unproven charges. Those accused were given no adequate opportunity to face their accusers, or to answer allegations made against them. Often these investigations seemed more concerned with punishing particular individuals, or with enforcing uniformity of opinions and stifling the traditional American right to dissent, than with any proper legislative purpose.

During the past year this picture has perceptibly brightened. There has been increased public realization of the extent to which some Congressional investigations have infringed on individual rights and freedoms, and a growing revulsion against the manner in which some investigations have been conducted. In Congress this revulsion found expression in the Senate's vote of censure against Senator McCarthy, and in the adoption of codes of fair procedure for committees by the House of Representatives and by several of the individual Senate Committees. In the country as a whole, this popular reaction has led to a renewed appreciation of the values of individual liberties and a renewed determination to defend them.

It is also true that while codes of fair procedure for Congressional committees can deter abuses, they can never be the whole answer to the problem of securing fairness in committee hearings. Necessarily these codes set only minimum standards, and depend for their effectiveness upon the self-restraint of the Congressional committees. The election of fair-minded Congressmen, and continued public vigilance

against any resurgence of McCarthyism remain vital necessities.

2. During the past year there has been increased public realization that, through the present security screening programs, the government is dealing harshly and unfairly, and sometimes tyrannically, with many of its citizens. There has been increased and well-merited public concern over certain arbitrary and unfair procedures employed in the government's personnel security programs, and over the ever-broadening scope of these programs.

The Administration itself has shown little willingness to clean its own house. When faced with public outcry against the manifest injustice done in a particular "security" case, as when it penalized a man for his mother's past political beliefs, the Administration has shamefacedly backtracked in the particular case. But it has made only grudging, piecemeal and belated efforts to correct the flagrant abuses which characterize its security programs, and which have led to injustice in individual cases.

Congress, on the other hand, has shown an increasing concern as to whether the national security is advanced by the personnel security programs the government is now operating. During the past year several Congressional committees conducted hearings in which the deficiencies and unfairness of the various security programs were canvassed. And the Congress, with virtual unanimity, adopted Senator Hubert Humphrey's proposal to establish a bipartisan public commission to investigate the whole subject of personnel security investigation and adjudication. This measure was supported by both the AFL and the CIO. Conversely, the Congress failed to act on the so-called Defense Facilities Act by which the Administration sought carte blanche authority to establish a personnel screening program for workers in private industry. Both the AFL and the CIO opposed the enactment of this bill because it contained no provision to insure that its tests or procedures would be fair.

3. The Congress again failed to give the Administration the broad authority it has sought to tap private telephone wires. There is considerable support in Congress for a bill to authorize wire-tapping in cases where the national security is involved, subject to proper safeguards, such as the securing of a court order. The Administration, however, continues to ask for authority to tap wires at the discretion of the Attorney General. In consequence, it has met with well-deserved Congressional rebuff and has secured no legislation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We declare our determination to preserve and defend American democracy from any and all enemies, within or without. We state our conviction that our form of government can and must be defended without resort to totalitarian techniques and without infringement on the individual liberties which are the core of free government.

2. We express our gratification that improvements have been made in the procedures of Congressional commit-



tees, but urge both the Congress and the public to be alert against any resurgence of abuses which previously have characterized certain committee investigations.

3. We commend the Congress for enacting the Humphrey resolution for investigation of government security programs by a bipartisan public commission. We urge the Commission which has recently been appointed that it inaugurate its study without delay. We suggest that the Commission devote special attention to the problem of industrial security. The Commission should include representatives of both labor and management in its discussions of this issue. In addition, the Commission should consider:

a. The scope of present and proposed security programs. We urge that the Commission give particular attention to determining whether security screening is necessary for jobs which do not involve policy-making decisions or access to classified information.

b. The criteria employed in the programs. We are persuaded that more precise and definite criteria could and should be employed.

c. The procedures utilized in the programs. We believe that all charges against individuals should be as concrete and meaningful as possible, not merely vague allegations. We suggest that the commission review the entire question of the use of information received from confidential informants. The Commission should also investigate the possibility that those charged with security violations should be confronted by any adverse witnesses.

4. The issues involved in wiretapping legislation are referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Civil Liberties. The motion is to adopt that report. The Chair recognizes Delegate Mazey of Detroit.

DELEGATE MAZEY, United Automobile Workers: Brother delegates, I rise to support the motion. I believe the preservation of civil rights is vital to the progress of the people of our nation and to the labor movement. We cannot hope to achieve our full goal and objectives unless we can maintain free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the basic freedoms guaranteed to us under the Bill of Rights.

At the present time these basic rights guaranteed to us by our Constitution are under serious attack in our nation. Slander, gossip, rumor, guilt by association, guilt by kinship, have too often and too frequently replaced due process of law. The right to think, the right to debate, the right to differ, are necessary in order for us to make the greatest possible progress in the achievement of happiness and a fuller life for the people of our nation.

The Eisenhower Administration cannot be accused of discriminating in its application of the security program, because this big business Administration has accused just as many people

of being security risks because of their association with their mothers as they have of being security risks because of their association with their fathers. In fact, an attorney who had a client who was accused of being a security risk because of his association with his mother advised his client that he ought to plead that he was a bottle-fed baby.

The facts are that this process that is currently sweeping our nation is repugnant to our concept of free and fair play and I am quite certain that if the American people raise their voices loudly enough and do everything they can to protect the people who are being defamed by these processes that we can put a stop to the tactics violating our Constitution that are currently taking place.

The big business Administration is also trying to silence the voice of labor on the question of political action. This coming Monday, December 12, in a Federal court in the City of Detroit the Auto Workers Union will be on trial and accused of violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. The specific charges that we are accused of are that we spent \$5,980 for some television shows in order to bring political issues to the attention of our members in the nation because we have candidates seeking federal office on this program. I am confident that we will win the right of free speech and free press not only for our union but for the labor movement as a whole in this trial that is coming up next Monday. We will not be intimidated we will not be coerced; we will not be frightened by these attempts to silence our voice. We believe that we have done nothing to violate our basic civil liberties and civil rights guaranteed us by our Constitution, and that this court action will not stop up our voice. We will continue to fight more aggressively, if possible, than we have in the past to maintain and protect these rights.

I want to speak out against the action of Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who this past week, in speaking before a Regional White Supremacy Committee urged that a Regional Commission be established and authorized to use public funds to maintain segregation and promote white supremacy. The same Senator is Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and I say that in my judgment Senator Eastland is unfit to chair a committee that has before it the principal job of protecting the basic rights of the citizens of our nation.

The program that Senator Eastland is advocating—the program of white supremacy, the program of encouraging segregation, makes him unfit to be a United States Senator. I therefore respectfully urge that our Congress, our United States Senate when it reconvenes next January, take immediate action to remove Senator Eastland from office because he has violated his oath of office.

The State of Mississippi has been in the news recently. There has been a great deal of discussion as to how we established democratic governments in various sections in the world. I would also like to suggest to our United States Congress that when they reconvene in January they give serious consideration to Federal legislation that would place the State of Mississippi under a Con-

gressional trusteeship until the Bill of Rights, the rights of all the citizens of that state, are assured and guaranteed. It seems to me that if we are going to make democracy work, not only in the world, but in our country, we have got to take some positive steps to implement this democracy.

These questions, as I stated initially, are important, and they are basic to the progress of the labor movement and free people everywhere.

I want to urge this Convention to do everything it can to help pass necessary Federal and state legislation to implement our democratic practices and to do everything we can to protect the rights of our citizens and protect the rights of the entire nation that are guaranteed to us through the Bill of Rights.

Thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Is there further discussion? If not, we will proceed to vote. All those who favor the motion please signify by saying aye; contrary minded, no.

The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

At this time I have the pleasure of presenting to you another visitor who just dropped in to say hello.

Will Governor Roberts please come to the platform?

... At this time the Honorable Dennis J. Roberts, Governor of the State of Rhode Island, was escorted to the speaker's platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I would like to present to you the Governor of the great big State of the East, the Governor of Rhode Island, Denny Roberts.

### **THE HON. DENNIS J. ROBERTS** **Governor of the State of Rhode Island**

Honorable George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, distinguished Vice Presidents, delegates in Convention assembled, ladies and gentlemen: I am extremely grateful for the opportunity that has been permitted me today to be presented to your Convention on this historic and distinguished occasion. My gratitude goes to Mr. Birthright of the International Barbers and other distinguished labor leaders throughout the country and your distinguished president.

I merely want to bring to you the congratulations, the appreciation and the gratitude of the people of Rhode Island for the great contribution that you have made to the welfare of our people and the welfare of the people of the United States.

We of Rhode Island have confidence in the leadership of organized labor. We have an appreciation of its direction, its assistance and its cooperation in the welfare of our country and its people in the past, and we are certain that under the leadership of this great organized movement today the United States and our people will rise to greater heights and prosperity, will enjoy a greater security and will have for themselves the opportunity of fulfillment of their attainments that they make a contribution to our common welfare and our common greatness.

I am extremely grateful and appreciative to your president and your officers for this opportunity, and I wish to you God's blessings for greater attainment, greater opportunity and greater prosperity in the future.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you very much, Governor Roberts, for dropping in to see us.

At this time the Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler for some announcements and messages.

### **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**SECRETARY SCHNITZLER:** Attention of the delegates is called to a new book entitled "Organizing the Teaching Profession." This book is now available at the AFL booth here. It tells of the fight made in the last 40 years to help teachers work through our trade union movement for our children and our schools. The book is of practical value to every delegate interested in our nation's schools.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I told you this morning, at the conclusion of the afternoon session we are going to hold a meeting of the unions that have applied for membership in the Industrial Union Department which is set up in accordance with the Merger Agreement and in accordance with the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations that meeting will take place immediately after adjournment.

At this time the regular business of the Convention having been caught up for the day, I have a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

If there are no objections the motion is carried.

... At 4:05 o'clock, P. M., December 7, 1955, the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M., Thursday, December 8, 1955.

# First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 8, 1955



## Report of FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York  
December 8, 1955

The Convention was called to order  
by President Meany at 9:30 o'clock.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The invocation  
this morning will be given by the  
Reverend James H. Robinson, Senior  
Pastor of the Church of the Master.

### INVOCATION

**Reverend James H. Robinson, Senior  
Pastor of the Church of the Master**

O, God, Thou mightiest worker of the  
Universe, Source of all strength and  
Author of all unity, we pray Thee for  
our brothers, the workers of this com-  
monwealth. As their work binds them  
together in toil and danger, which puts  
all of us in their debt, may their hearts  
be knit together in a strong sense of  
their common interests and so fulfill  
the law of Thy love by bearing the  
common burdens. Grant the organiza-  
tion of these two great bodies quiet  
peace and prudence in all negotiations.

Give wisdom and strength to all the  
leaders who have been raised up by  
the men in the ranks. Give them large  
hearts, able minds and grace to follow

wise counsel. Bless all classes and  
groups of this Republic and build up a  
greater body of workers strong of  
limb, clear of mind, glad to labor,  
striving together for final brotherhood  
of all men, that this land blessed with  
the fruits of their work may return  
them their just rewards in full mea-  
sure.

Come Thou and be our guest and  
give this great meeting Thy blessing—  
Amen.

### COMMUNICATIONS

... Secretary Schnitzler read the fol-  
lowing communications:  
Japanese Federation of Trade Unions  
(Sodomei)

To the AFL-CIO Amalgamation Meet-  
ing:

On the auspicious occasion of the  
amalgamation of the AFL and the CIO,  
allow us to offer our respects on behalf  
of the 50,000 workers under the Japanese  
Federation of Trade Unions ("SODOMEI")  
to those present at this meeting as dele-  
gates, the leading members of the com-  
bining organizations and all the workers  
concerned.

It is indeed a matter for our hearty  
congratulations that the two major labor  
organizations in the United States

have realized their long-cherished aim of amalgamation, bringing 15,000,000 workers under a single leadership. We sincerely hope in this connection that your new organization will so heighten the labor cause that all free and democratic labor union activities may be much encouraged.

Our Federation, under the difficult political, economical and other circumstances, has fought for the heightening of our living standards, always holding to the principle of sincerity and friendship. This old basic principle of our Federation was originated in the "Yuai Kai" (or Friendship Society) organized under the leadership of the late Mr. Bunji Suzuki in 1913 as the forerunner of the present Federation. Since that time on, the same principle has been pushed in its original form, under which our labor movement has progressed steadily. The Federation is now adding to its importance as the central group of the democratic labor unions in Japan.

We wish that our relations with your new organization will become closer as time goes on through the ICFTU's slogan "Bread, Peace and Freedom," and pray at the same that the historic meeting will be a great success.

YONEKICHI KANEMASA  
President, Japanese Federation  
of Trade Unions  
SEN KOGA  
Secretary General

We, Japanese Trade Union Congress, express our hearty congratulations and respect to the biggest organization in the free world to be born anew here.

We well know the brilliant and important contribution which both organizations gave not only to American labor but to the world-trade union movement in the past.

All the more, we believe this amalgamation will increase our power to an immeasurable extent in the common movement to protect and develop freedom and democracy.

Extending our deep thanks for the heart-warming friendship and kindest intentions shown ever since in all cases, we, Japanese Trade Union Congress, earnestly hope that through this colossal organization all workers of both countries be bound tightly by good Samaritanism striding over the Pacific Ocean.

M. TAKITA,  
Chairman  
Japanese Trade Union Congress

December 6, 1955

San Jose, C. R.  
AFL-CIO 71st Armory, New York

For two and a half decades I have followed with devotion the development of the American labor movement. I admire the courage and foresight of your leaders, past and present, and the faith of your workers. You have given a large contribution to three different accomplishments of the American economy; raising the standard of living, broadening the market, and gradually creating a system of regulated free enterprise or mixed economy, which embodies the old ideals of socialism and capitalism.

At the present time there is a growing recognition of the advantages of large economic units or corporations.

This calls for large labor organizations as well.

The historic labor reunion that you are effecting now is one more demonstration of the statesmanship of your leaders, and a tribute to the basic ability of Americans to get together among themselves and with the rest of the world.

JOSE FIGUERES, President of Costa Rica.  
New York, N. Y.

Dec. 7, 1955  
George Meany, Pres., American Federation of Labor, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

Assembly of Captive European Nations  
Free Voice of Silenced Peoples of Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania sends warm greetings to the historical convention which has brought about unification of the two great American labor organizations. Merger of AFL and CIO will be encouraging message to Soviet enslaved peoples, for they are well aware of firm support these two movements have always lent to cause of freedom and justice everywhere. In name of these peoples assembly extends sincere congratulations to the distinguished leaders whose wisdom and statesmanship has forged unity of American labor movement and expresses to convention best wishes in the great task ahead for unified organization. In thanking you, Mr. President, and all your associates for steadfast support you have given in past to just cause we are serving, assembly is confident that unified American labor movement will continue with renewed strength to spearhead worldwide struggle against forces of evil and injustice and for a world in which freedom from fear and want shall no longer be a mere distant goal.

VILIS MASENS, Chairman.

December 6, 1955

Taipei  
President George Meany, the Inaugural convention of the AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

Kindly accept our sincerest congratulations and best wishes for merging AFL-CIO. KU CHENGKANG, President of Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, China Chapter, Taipei, Free China.

AFL-CIO 71st Armory, New York

December 7, 1955

Valparaiso

Sincere congratulations on unity of great trade union centers.

Union, Licensed Officers, Merchant Marine, Chile.  
To: George Meany and Walter Reuther  
Esteemed Brothers:

Thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the fusion convention which will bring the organizations, that you so worthily represent, into one single trade union movement. I really appreciate the honor you have shown me by this invitation and I wish it were possible to be present at this historic event for the Labor movement of the United States and the entire world, but unfortunately the press of my own work in Mexico obliges me to remain here at this time.

The Confederation of Labor of Mexico in no way wishes to fail to be present

at this great event. We have therefore designated three of our outstanding trade union personalities to represent us and to bring you, in the name of all of us, our warm greetings to Labor in your great country, and particularly to yourselves. The three are: Francisco Perez Rios, member of the National Executive Committee and Secretary of International Labor Relations; and Mr. Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga, of the National Committee and member of the Federal Congress of the United States of Mexico; and Mr. Leonardo Rodriguez of the National Executive Committee of the Electrical Workers of Mexico, and also a member of the Federal Congress.

Please excuse my not being able to come personally, and accept the most sincere congratulations of the entire Mexican Labor movement for your having achieved the unification of American Labor.

Sincerely and fraternally,  
For the National Executive Committee  
of the Federation of Labor of Mexico  
Fidel Velazquez,  
General Secretary.

#### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS

148 Rue de la Loi, Brussels, Belgium

The Executive Board of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, as well as the Christian trade union movement in its entirety, bring their fraternal greetings to the American workers on the occasion of their Unity Convention.

Those Christian trade unionists who have had contacts with the American trade union movement have been impressed by the high esteem in which the American labor movement—like the Christian trade union movement—holds spiritual values. This common respect of the worker as a human being possessing both body and soul undoubtedly foreshadows an ever increasing degree of mutual comprehension between the American trade union movement and the Christian trade union movement.

May the years to come bring about a greater degree of cooperation between your unified movement and Christian trade unionism. May your unified trade union movement defend ever more successfully the interests of all American workers in accordance with your great tradition of the respect of the human person, its integrity and its dignity. May the American trade union movement continue to participate ever more actively in the international field so that the unceasing efforts of free workers may triumph over the forces of oppression.

G. TESSIER, President.  
A. VANISTENDAEL, Secretary-General.  
December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y.

Mr. George Meany, President AFL-CIO,  
71st Regiment Armory, New York.

As a fraternal organization of seventy thousand members and their families that has always considered itself and considers itself now as an integral part of the American labor movement we send our heartiest greetings and best wishes to the historic merger convention of AFL and CIO. We hope that this merger will strengthen the labor

movement in the interest of its membership for an America of freedom and welfare, a world of peace and democracy for all. Our sincere wishes for every success.

National Executive Committee, Workmen's Circle.

JACOB T. ZUCKERMAN, President.

NATHAN CHANIN, General Secretary.

Czechoslovak Free Trade

Union Federation,

29 W. 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

December 3, 1955.

Delegates to the First AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention.

Brothers and Sisters:

We are bringing you, on this historic occasion, the sincerest congratulations and wishes of every success on behalf of the Czechoslovak trade unionists living on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Your convention creating the largest trade union organization in the free world will have undoubtedly profound long-range effects in the United States and abroad, and will affect also the trade unionists in Czechoslovakia and other Communist-dominated countries.

We know very well—and we are transmitting this knowledge on every occasion to our brothers behind the Iron Curtain—that free trade unionists are stout defenders of the democratic principles and ardent opponents of Communism. We are glad to be able to say on this occasion that the leaders of the American trade union movement stand in the first row of the unified front against the Communist plans for world domination. The refusal of Brother Meany and of other American labor leaders to accept the invitations to send labor delegations to the USSR and to satellite countries gave encouragement to our brothers in Czechoslovakia, flooded by the official Communist reports and propaganda about Western delegations visiting the Soviet orbit.

There is no doubt in our mind that the unified labor movement of the United States will intensify the struggle against the Communist conspiracy, and will lend its support to the cause of the freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain. With your support and help, sooner or later, the Czechoslovak trade unionists will be able to rejoin the big family of the free labor.

With fraternal greetings,  
FRANK CIFKA, Secretary General.

December 6, 1955

Los Angeles, Calif.

United Convention, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 71st Armory, New York.

Greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. We hope that the United American Trade Union Movement will lead eventually to a world of social justice for humanity.

Workers of J. Spector Co., 127 East 9th Street, Los Angeles, Calif., Members of International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Ann Sherman, Shop Chairman.

December 6, 1955

Independence

George Meany, President.

AFL-CIO Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York.

SS Independence Crew congratulates you, the unity committee and convention delegates on achievement of uniting labor.

We are proud that our President contributed to this historic action. If given the opportunity we feel certain that his exceptional ability will prove of even greater value to you in solving problems on unity yet to face you.

Joe Curran has consistently worked to unite all seamen. We applaud his tireless, sincere efforts to achieve this goal. We assure you and President Curran of our wholehearted support in this great work.

PAUL J. DOOLEY, Ship's Chairman.

December 5, 1955

Roma

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Statler Hotel, New York.

Today's unification marks historic event. I send warmest wishes to newly merged federation, which is a cornerstone in the advancement of labor in your great democracy.

GIUSEPPE SARAGAT.

December 6, 1955

San Jose, C. R.

George Meany, Walter P. Reuther, AFL-CIO Convention 71st Regiment Armory, New York, N. Y.

I am honored by your kind invitation to the historical convention. Unavoidable obligations in Costa Rica prevent leaving. I will be with you in spirit, fully realizing the importance of the event. May I remind you the great collaboration in favor of democracy and social justice in America that the North American labor movement has rendered. Now merged in a single block the beneficial repercussions of its ideals and action will be even more decisive. The workers throughout the world feel increasing hopes. Fraternally, LUIS ALBERTO MONGE.

December 6, 1955

Scranton, Pa.

Convention Chairman, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

On behalf of its members the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association fraternal and beneficial society of the American working men and women of Ukrainian descent, wishes your historic convention successful deliberations. We believe the efforts of your united labor organization will be beneficial not only to the welfare and well being of the American working men and women but also to all laboring people in the world. The AFL-CIO will also be a leading factor in the struggle of all freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain including the Ukrainian working men and women in their fight against Russian communist dictatorship for a free labor and democracy.

ANTHONY BATIUK, President, and THEODORE MYNYK, Recording Secretary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran, of the Resolutions Committee.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following:

#### VETERANS

There is at present in the United States a veterans' population of over 22,000,000. With the continuation of the Selective Service System, and with other induction laws remaining in operation, it is anticipated that each year an additional 1,000,000 veterans will be added to this already large segment of our American population.

Many of these veterans, or members of their immediate families, are members of our affiliated unions. These veterans share with the rest of the nation an interest and concern in the general economic and social conditions which determine whether we have jobs or unemployment, decent standards of living or privation, social legislation and medical care or avoidable illness and disability, adequate housing or slum tenements.

Any veteran being discharged from service faces problems of readjustment. Organized labor has always recognized that the returning veteran is entitled to full restitution and protection against the loss of any of his rights, benefits and opportunities of which he may have been deprived as a result of his absence from civilian life.

The demands of these veterans for jobs, security, housing, education and a decent standard of living are identical with the demands of the labor movement; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO pledges its complete, active and renewed support to aid the veterans of our nation through legislation and contract negotiations to accomplish the following program:

1. The AFL-CIO shall continue to take such action as is found necessary to insure proper re-employment rights and reinstatement rights for all returning veterans, including persons entering upon active duty for limited periods of training. These rights should include an absolute guarantee that such veterans and trainees will receive full credit for all accumulated employees' benefits to which they would have been entitled if they had not left their employment to enter the armed forces.

2. To make the GI Bill of Rights and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 more fully effective in the protection of veterans by recommending and supporting legislation providing the following: pensions for all disabled and their dependents, taking into account the increased cost of living conditions; more liberal and effective provisions for direct loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses and farms; improvements in veterans' unemployment compensation; and an increase in Veterans Administration's Impartial Appeal Committee, to review and act upon the great backlog of veterans' claims for compensation and pension entitlements.

3. The AFL-CIO shall continue its efforts to have Congress enact into law legislation which would make possible a housing program calculated to assure immediate large-scale housing construction of decent low-cost homes,



with no increase in the present GI four and one-half per cent interest rate.

4. We shall recommend such enlargement of Veterans Administration hospital facilities and services as are necessary to meet fully the medical care to which veterans are entitled, and the continuation of out-patient treatment and dental care for persons presently returning from the armed forces identical to that granted World War II veterans.

5. The AFL-CIO will constantly and vigorously work for fair and equal treatment for all citizens subject to the draft under the Selective Service Act as amended, or similar laws, through the elimination of preferential treatment to any occupational group under these laws or their administration.

6. We call upon each affiliated union to establish a veterans committee for the purpose of cooperating with our Committee on Veterans Affairs, to protect the interest of our membership in the Selective Service processes, in the armed forces, and in their readjustment to civilian life following their service to their country.

7. We cooperate with the forward-looking forces of all existing veterans' organizations to aid veterans' rehabilitation.

8. We ask for a complete review of the present outmoded and antiquated "court martial system" of the armed forces. Every effort should be made to bring about the necessary revision of this system to correct the many injustices committed, under the present provisions, and to insure fair and equal treatment of our men and women while under the jurisdiction of the military, and thereby insure the justice fundamental to our democratic principles.

Committee co-Secretary Curran moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following:

### MILITARY MANPOWER POLICIES

Organized labor has a direct concern with military manpower policies since the methods adopted to select individuals for service in the armed forces have a direct impact on the effectiveness with which the civilian economy functions.

Labor is also concerned that the nation's program for service in the armed forces be equitable and fully consistent with our democratic heritage.

We recognize that it is essential today for the United States to maintain its armed forces at adequate strength to defend ourselves against military aggression as well as to aid our allies around the world.

The past year has witnessed a further reduction in the size of the nation's military forces. This continuing decline raises a serious question in our minds: Does the nation now have sufficient forces to meet the country's in-

ternational commitments around the globe?

With these reductions in the armed forces, the work of the Selective Service system has eased, although at the present time, the Selective Service is being utilized to supplement volunteers for the U. S. Navy as well as for the U. S. Army. We think it important that the nation continue to rely on this equitable method of selecting individuals for military service to maintain the desired strength of our armed forces.

The problem of maintaining sufficient military forces involves questions of the reserves as well as the standing forces. The problem of reserve policy has proved a particularly troublesome one. Until this year service in the reserves has been completely voluntary. An individual who had completed his active duty training was not required to engage in any reserve training. During the past year, however, Congress passed, in response to demands from the Administration, a law which drastically changes the basis for service in the reserve forces. The new law makes reserve service obligatory for all those entering the armed forces after August 9, 1955. The number of years of reserve duty will vary with the individual's length of service in the active forces. The normal total military obligation is six years—at least two in the active forces and the rest in the reserve.

A special program, however, permitting shorter active service combined with longer reserve service, is available to young men under 18½, to a maximum of 250,000 men a year. They are permitted to volunteer for a total of eight years' service, which would be made up of active duty of but three to six months and the rest in reserve training.

Organized labor will be watching carefully developments under this Act. We will be watching particularly to find out whether the Defense Department revises its outmoded reserve training program and institutes a more energetic and effective training procedure for reservists. We also want to make certain that passage of this law does not lead to a full-scale system of Universal Military Training. The adoption of compulsory military training would be contrary to the traditional American way of life. It would disrupt family life and educational opportunities. It would turn over to the military control of the nation's youth at a time when young men are in a very formative stage; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1. The AFL-CIO urges the Defense Department to develop an adequately conceived and effective reserve training program under the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955 to supplement the armed forces of the United States.

2. We strongly support continuation of the Selective Service system as long as this is needed to maintain the strength of our armed forces against the threat of Communist aggression.

3. We oppose the adoption of any program of Universal Military Training.

Committee co-Secretary moved the adoption of the resolution.  
The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

### AFL-CIO SONG

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am going to present a member of the Rubber Workers' Union who is also a member of the Musicians' Union and a composer, who is going to render a new song he has written especially for this occasion. I introduce to you Brother Joe Glazer.

MR. GLAZER: We wrote this song a couple of days ago on the floor of the Convention, and I had the able assistance of Harry Fleischman and H. H. Bookbinder.

... The song is as follows:

### ALL TOGETHER (A new song in honor of the AFL-CIO Merger)

All together, all together, we are stronger  
every way, AFL-CIO  
We will build together, work together for  
a better day, AFL and CIO

Together we'll build and together we'll  
stand,  
Together we'll make this a happier land.  
We'll work and we'll sing and we'll march  
hand in hand  
And build our union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger  
every way, AFL-CIO  
We will build together, work together for  
a better day, AFL and CIO

No matter your race, no matter your  
creed,

It's justice for all that we want and  
we need.

United in brotherhood, we will succeed  
And build our union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger  
every way, AFL-CIO  
We will build together, work together for  
a better day, AFL and CIO

If you are afraid when your hair's turning  
gray  
They'll open the gates and cast you  
away,  
Then join with your brothers and demand  
fair play  
And build your union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger  
every way, AFL-CIO  
We will build together, work together for  
a better day, AFL and CIO

"What's good for America," we're proud  
to note.

"Is good for labor," and this you may  
quote.

So ring those bells and get out the vote  
To build our country strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger  
every way, AFL-CIO  
We will build together, work together for  
a better day, AFL and CIO

Muscle from an old hymn—"There is  
Power in the Blood." Words by Joseph  
Glazer, Harry Fleischman and H. H.  
Bookbinder.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I  
would like to present a representative  
of the International Labor Press which  
has been meeting here all this past  
week, representing labor papers, union  
house organs, both AFL and CIO. This  
gentleman wants to say a few words  
and file a report for the record.

I present to you Brother Lew Herrmann of the Typographical Union.  
Brother Herrmann.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF INTER- NATIONAL LABOR PRESS OF AMERICA

LEWIS M. HERRMANN

#### Fraternal Delegate

Mr. President and delegates: I have  
been designated by the International  
Labor Press of America to present its  
annual report to this Convention as a  
fraternal delegate from the Labor Press  
group.

I have prepared a report that would  
probably take ten or twelve minutes to  
read, but I know that we are all wait-  
ing to hear some very prominent guests  
here this morning. The Committee on  
Resolutions has a pile of resolutions  
still to present, which will probably  
take two or three hours.

So, Mr. Chairman, providing this will  
be entered in the minutes of this Con-  
vention as of today, I will file this re-  
port so that you can read it at your  
leisure instead of listening to me for  
the next fifteen or twenty minutes.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you,  
Brother Herrmann. The report will ap-  
pear in the record of today's proceed-  
ings.

The report submitted by Frater-  
nal Delegate Herrmann follows:

To the Officers and Delegates  
of the AFL-CIO:

The International Labor Press of  
America, founded in 1911 by the revered  
Samuel Gompers, has just completed its  
44th year of service to the American  
labor movement, with the largest and  
most successful convention in its history.  
One of the major issues under  
consideration during the 3-day meeting  
in this city, December 2, 3, and 4, was  
the proposed merger of ILPA with its  
CIO counterpart in the field of labor  
press journalism, developed during the  
past 20 years.

Now that organic unity has been  
achieved by the two major labor groups  
of America, it is inevitable that the  
leadership of the united labor move-  
ment give serious thought not only to  
the need of consolidating the two labor  
press factions, but what is more im-  
portant, to reassess its relationship and  
revise its attitude toward the American  
labor press. The need for a careful  
study of this vital problem is self-  
evident, and has been a subject of dis-  
cussion at labor press conventions for  
the past decade.

During its 44 years of existence the  
labor press has practically grown up

like "Topsy," with only passing interest in its problems by the organized labor movement. Often we have heard severe criticism leveled at our labor publications from leaders of our movement. However, if our labor press has been afflicted with imperfections we submit that at least part of the blame for such shortcomings rightfully belongs at the door of the labor movement itself.

For many years those of us in positions of leadership within the ILPA have pleaded for creation of a standing committee by organized labor, for the express purpose of helping to keep out of the labor journalistic field certain elements that have brought embarrassment to our member papers and the former American Federation of Labor. The ILPA has used every means at its command, including the expenditure of thousands of dollars contributed by our own members, to combat the evil of alleged "labor papers" which paraded as the editorial voice of the AFL. Frankly, we have been carrying a burden that rightfully should be assumed by this merged organization. Nevertheless, we've made considerable progress, as the record will show.

It is, therefore, gratifying to report that the officers of this merged labor movement have evinced keen interest in the establishment of a closer and more effective liaison between AFL-CIO headquarters and the administrative officers of the labor press, so that the full potentialities of this important segment of the labor movement may be properly utilized.

The labor press is the right arm of the labor movement, which must blaze the way for our unions if they are to make real progress. Experience has shown that we cannot depend for a fair presentation of our problems upon the general daily press, which instinctively plays the game of the greedy reactionary forces of our country.

A strong labor movement must have a militant, loyal and powerful labor press. The realization of this objective is now in the hands of the leaders of this great federation of trade unions.

It is significant that our organization has had as its guiding lights over the years such outstanding leaders of the labor movement as Matthew Woll, who served as President for more than 40 years; and the late J. Scott Milne, head of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Those chosen at our recent convention to lead us for the coming year, are:

Gordon H. Cole, editor, "The Machinist," Wash., DC.; Sec. Treas., Bernard Mullady, "AFL News-Reporter," Wash., DC.; Sec. Treas. Emeritus, Lewis M. Herrmann, editor, "N J Labor Herald"; Vice-Presidents—Ray Taylor, "Milwaukee Labor Press"; C. J. Haggerty, California "State AFL Bulletin"; Irving Klass, editor, Chicago "Federation News"; Paul Phillips, "The Paper Maker"; Richard A. Estep, editor, "Labor Temple News," Peoria, Ill.; Peter Terzick, editor, "The Carpenter"; Robert Gerhart, editor, "The New Era," Reading, Pa.; Leon Stein, editor, ILGWU "Justice"; Mrs. Brownie Cuthbert, editor, "The Labor World," Chattanooga, Tenn.; Richard Howard, Chairman, Railroad Brotherhoods Labor Press; Wallace Reilly, editor, "The Dallas Crafts-

man"; and Fraternal Delegate to the AFL-CIO Constitutional convention, Lewis M. Herrmann.

**JOURNALISTIC AWARD CONTEST**  
—One of the major contributing factors which has brought about the improvement of the American labor press in recent years, has been our annual "Journalistic Award Contest", which we have conducted successfully for the past nine years. This friendly competition has been a strong incentive for international journals, as well as local labor papers, to modernize and streamline their publications. This year's winners, selected by the University of Wisconsin, School of Journalism faculty, acting as a Board of Judges, included the following publications which received the traditional "Award of Merit" plaques this past Sunday at our annual awards banquet:

#### INTERNATIONAL UNION PUBLICATIONS:

Class 1-A Editorial Excellence (Magazine Format), First Award—"The Electrical Workers' Journal", Second Award—"The Butcher Workman".

Class 1-B Editorial Excellence (News Format), First Award—"Seafarers Log", Second Award—"Justice" (ILGWU).

Class 2-A Best Front Cover—Artistic Excellence (Magazine Format), First Award—"American Pressman", Second Award—"Maintenance of Way Employees' Railway Journal".

Class 2-B Best News Front Page (News Format), First Award—"The Government Standard", Second Award—"The American Teacher".

Class 3 Best Single Editorial, First Award—"Catering Industry Employee", Second Award—"Glass Horizons".

Class 4 Best Original Cartoon, First Award—"Justice" (ILGWU), Second Award—"Seafarers Log".

Class 5 Best Feature Article, First Award—"Building Service Employee", Second Award—"Justice" (ILGWU).

Class 6 Best Community Project: First Award—"The Butcher Workman", Second Award—"Justice" (ILGWU).

#### LOCAL UNION PUBLICATIONS:

Class 1 Editorial Excellence (News Format), First Award—"Detroit Labor News", Second Award—"Milwaukee Labor Press".

Class 2-A Best Front Page—Pictorial Excellence (News Format), First Award—"Northern Calif. Teamster" (San Francisco), Second Award—"Engineers News-Record" (Los Angeles).

Class 2-B Best News Front Page (News Format), First Award—"The Detroit Teacher", Second Award—"The Detroit Building Tradesman".

Class 3 Best Single Editorial, First Award—"Oregon Teamster" (Portland, Ore.), Second Award—"Federation News" (Chicago).

Class 4 Best Original Cartoon, First Award—"San Francisco Labor", Second Award—"Detroit Teacher".

Class 5 Best Feature Article, First Award—"Oregon Teamster" (Portland, Ore.), Second Award—"Detroit Teacher".

Class 6 Best Regular Special Column, First Award—"Oregon Labor Press" (Portland, Ore.), Second Award—"Colorado Labor Advocate" (Denver).

Class 7 Best Community Project. First Award—"Sacramento Valley Union Labor Bulletin". Second Award—"Electrical Union World" (N. Y. C.).

This is the ninth consecutive year that an outstanding American University has accepted this exacting task as a service to the labor press. ILPA is happy to announce that we have already secured the services of the School of Journalism at the University of Washington, to act in a similar capacity for our contest in 1956.

State of the labor press—That the American labor press is rapidly maturing and developing greater reader interest among the average unionist can be proved by the comments of such experts in the art of mass communication as Prof. Ralph Nafziger, of the University of Wisconsin, who said after examining the entries of the labor press in the 1955 journalistic award contest, that "almost all of the entries in the contest were outstanding examples of journalism."

Among other compliments paid the labor press during the past year was that of the Wall Street Journal of Commerce, published by Harvard University, which rated the labor press far above the efforts of the so-called house organs of management, which fail to impress the workers as much as their own local labor papers. Aside from this type of praise regarding the real progress shown by our papers in recent years, many illustrated feature articles have been devoted to telling the story of the labor press development in America by some of our international union journals and magazines of general circulation. These are symptoms of steady progress.

Not so long ago, while touring Europe, we made a careful survey of the labor press in England, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland. Our investigation showed that nowhere on the continent has organized labor developed what might be termed a labor press than can be compared to that serving the American trade union movement. This is particularly true regarding the local field of journalism. Today we have almost 200 such local labor papers and, with the advent of our united trade union movement, still greater progress may be expected in this sphere of our activities.

During the past year ILPA cooperation with President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzer has helped greatly in protecting the interests of both our members' publications and the AFL against unethical publications. The new, feature and photo-mat service placed at the disposal of our papers and magazines by the AFL has been considerably improved and enlarged.

Because of these improvements, the labor press of today is a far cry from the early days of our movement, when the average labor paper did not occupy a very high position, either in journalistic circles or among labor leaders. We may well be proud today of counting among our membership international union magazines and local labor papers, which compare favorably with some of the best publications to be found in

the general press of this country.

Nevertheless, with all of the progress recorded since 1911, when our organization was founded, there are still many fields to be conquered, in order to make our press a still better editorial weapon with which to bring the story of labor, not only to the 16,000,000 members and their families within the AFL-CIO fold, but to counteract the poison propaganda against labor being constantly fed to the general public by the daily press.

Political education—With the 1956 Presidential and Congressional elections already beginning to take form, we intend to alert all of our affiliates to the end that our vast membership in the merged labor movement may be aroused to militant action at the polls. It is most gratifying to recall that during the 1952 Presidential campaign not a single publication of our 254 members failed to loyally support the political policy voted by the AFL convention.

We once again pledge our best efforts to impress the rank and file with the importance of supporting wholeheartedly the political education program of our united labor forces for the coming year.

Membership—The paid up membership of ILPA reported to our recent convention was 256; with about one-third consisting of international union journals and two-thirds local labor papers. There are only a very small number of labor publications in this country which have so far failed to join our group.

It is logical to expect a considerable increase in our membership as soon as ILPA completes the current merger conferences being held with its brother editors of the former Congress of Industrial Organizations. These friendly discussions have resulted in considerable progress, which should lead to early consolidation of our two groups.

We Mourn Our Loss—Those of us who had the privilege of being associated for many years in the work of the labor press with our late ILPA President, J. Scott Milne, and our First Vice-President, Frank X. Martel, were deeply shocked by the untimely passing of these two loyal and dedicated leaders of our organization. The tragic death of these respected and beloved brothers is a great loss, not only to the labor press of America, but to the entire labor movement. We sincerely mourn their passing from our ranks and we know that we express the sentiment of this entire AFL-CIO convention in extending our deepest condolences to the bereaved families and their organizations.

Regional Conferences—In order to bring the benefits of our organization to many labor press editors and union officers who find it difficult to attend our annual conventions, ILPA has organized during the past few years several regional labor press conferences throughout the country, which meet periodically to discuss problems of mutual interest and benefit. Among these are the Texas Labor Press Association; the Eastern Labor Press Conference; the Mid-West Labor Press Association; the Iowa Labor Press Union; and the

Missouri Labor Press Association. Annual labor press meetings are also being sponsored by the California State Federation of Labor.

**SPEAKERS** who addressed our recent convention in this city included such prominent personages as: U. S. Senators Patrick McNamara, of Michigan, Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee and Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, besides several AFL and CIO officials.

In concluding this annual report of your labor press, which must of necessity touch only the highlights of the many activities carried on throughout the year by our organization, we desire to express our sincere appreciation to the officers of the former AFL and the international union officials, whose help and encouragement made possible the recording of another successful year in our service to the labor movement.

As we begin our 45th year of making the labor movement more articulate for both its own membership and the general public, we rededicate ourselves to the task of serving as the voice of labor, fully aware of the great responsibility that goes with the privilege of playing an important role in this, the greatest trade union federation on earth.

International Labor Press of America  
LEWIS M. HERRMANN,  
ILPA Fraternal Delegate

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee.

### REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

#### MANPOWER POLICY FOR FULL MOBILIZATION

Last summer the federal government conducted a test exercise of government operations under a mock atomic bomb attack on the continental United States. This exercise, called "Operation Alert," involved a mass evacuation of Government agencies from the Nation's Capital.

In response to this attack, President Eisenhower, at a meeting of the Cabinet in the midst of Operation Alert issued a mock order establishing martial law throughout the United States. He said that if the attack had been real the extent of the damage would have been so great that he saw no other way to handle the resulting chaos and confusion.

Yet this declaration served only to add confusion to a complicated administrative problem. The military forces who were given broad and sweeping authority under the mock martial law, were of course not experienced in such civilian problems as production, manpower, and stabilization. By the end of the exercises, even many government officials were convinced that a better arrangement than martial law would have to be devised. At the present time, a special Cabinet Com-

mittee is reviewing the entire problem raised by martial law.

This controversy over the possible application of martial law in a national emergency focuses attention on a critical manpower problem: whether in a time of emergency the mobilization of manpower is to be accomplished through voluntary measures or by emphasizing compulsory measures such as national service legislation. On this issue, both labor and management are basically in agreement. Both groups are represented on the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee composed of representatives of major labor and business organizations and co-chaired by the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Labor.

Over a two-year period, this Committee developed "A Manpower Policy for Full Mobilization," which it submitted to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This program is based on the conviction that "the way to mobilize civilian manpower is through voluntary measures." The Committee is unanimously opposed to national service legislation and other similar controls. The Committee also stated that even in the event of an attack on the United States, "... the self-imposed discipline of free men and women facing a situation of ultimate danger can give the nation the stability and flexibility it must have to survive."

The report specifically recommends that a National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee "advise the overall mobilization agency." The Committee, according to the recommendation, should have "... authority and responsibility to participate in all policy developments and recommendations, including the right to initiate the consideration of manpower policies."

The report did not advocate a manpower program in which individuals—workers or employers—are free to act in any way that they wish. There must be government leadership and certain government penalties worked out with the help of management and labor, even in what is essentially a voluntary manpower program.

In order to be fully prepared for any emergency, it is essential that the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee remain in full operation and that its local and regional structure be kept at least on a standby and semi-active basis, so that some type of organizational arrangements would be available for immediate action in case of a national emergency; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED, 1.** We vigorously oppose the use of martial law as a response to atomic attack. We do not believe that military authorities should be made responsible for deciding questions which are essentially civilian in character. In the event of an emergency, the major responsibility of the armed forces of necessity will be to conduct military operations. They should not be diverted from this primary task to decide issues for which they are normally not responsible. The regular civil authorities, supplemented where necessary by individuals or

groups recruited under the civil defense organization, must continue to be responsible for making the major governmental decisions in the event of a national emergency. There is little to be gained by maintaining an Office of Defense Mobilization to develop policies for national emergencies if military authority is to be substituted for civilian responsibility when war comes.

2. We reiterate our firm conviction that all manpower planning for mobilization should be based upon the principle of voluntarism. The Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Labor should insure that their planning for potential mobilization is based on voluntary principles.

3. The development of manpower mobilization measures should be continued by the Administration through consultation with the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee. The "Manpower Program for Full Mobilization," recommended by the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, should serve as the basis for manpower mobilization planning.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following:

### ATOMIC ENERGY

Developments in atomic science have reached the stage of technologically translating theoretical scientific knowledge into increasingly practical peaceful application. A widening impact on most of industry can be expected soon.

At the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy an impetus to early application of many uses was given by broadened declassification of secret atomic information and a freer exchange of scientific discoveries than had existed in many years. Further developments along this line will undoubtedly result from the establishment of an international agency on atomic energy, which is now under active consideration by the United Nations.

To organized labor these developments provide an opportunity and a challenge to serve as a public interest force seeking the maximum application of this new science and industry for the broadest beneficial uses for all of mankind. Organized labor must act also to assure maintenance of adequate protection from harmful radiation both for workmen exposed to radioactive materials and for the general public.

The worldwide importance of the growing application of nuclear science led the free trade unions of the world, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to convene an International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Brussels, Belgium last August, just prior to the Geneva Atomic Conference. The ICFU conferees, while supporting the measures taken by various governments and the United Nations, called especial attention to the need for:

democratic control over the production and use of atomic energy; the association of the free trade unions with such control; the application of all necessary safety measures in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials, producing atomic energy and using its products;

the ensuring of high social standards in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials and atomic energy, with the cooperation of the free trade unions, in the first place by means of collective bargaining;

adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the workers whenever displacement of manpower might result from atomic developments.

Here in the United States, where the greatest investment of public funds has been made in developing this new technology, action for more rapid and broadened application of peaceful uses of nuclear science must be urged upon the Atomic Energy Commission.

After several years of hesitation, the Commission finally in the past year has been nudged into stepping up the pace of both Government and private development for peaceful purposes, but still is proceeding slowly and, as far as the public is concerned, largely in the dark.

In stimulating a more aggressive program of development for civilian uses, the AEC and the nation must remain alert to the danger of commercial monopoly. The Government must vigorously enforce its authority to prevent any firm from using patent rights to gain monopolistic control of any important phase of nuclear development.

A relatively few industrial giants have had the opportunity as contractors for the Government in the military development phases of the atomic program to gain special "know-how" and personnel in this complex field. They must not be allowed to convert their head start or inside knowledge into an unduly favored position or exclusive control of any aspect of private application.

The widening of private activity in this field must take place on a truly competitive basis to bring to the American people the benefits to which their investment in atomic energy entitles them. The Government must therefore encourage participation by as wide a variety of responsible private enterprises as practicable and must assure such enterprises an equal opportunity through appropriate provisions for access to necessary atomic information and resources; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the following as fundamental elements in an enlightened United States atomic energy program in the best interests of the American public and the world as a whole:

(1) The United States should participate wholeheartedly in the formation and operation of an International Agency on Atomic Energy adhering to the principles urged upon the members of the United Nations by the ICFU.

(2) The United States should encourage, and participate in, regional



agreements under the United Nations Charter to make possible for several countries within the appropriate region to assure mutual availability of capital, technical know-how and equipment, as well as to develop common programs in whose benefits all would share.

(3) Development of peaceful uses of the atom should be promoted as rapidly, fully and equitably as possible, to hasten the day when the atom's potential is reflected in improved standards of living for all.

(4) The tasks of overcoming technological obstacles and of putting atomic energy into practical everyday civilian use in this country, including the construction of large-scale power reactors, must be carried through both by the Federal Government itself and by expanded participation of private enterprise.

(5) In encouraging broadened participation by private industry, the Federal Government must not relinquish its responsibility to assure that atomic energy is developed and applied in the public interest and under standards established and maintained to that end. Federal policy must prevent the development of monopoly in any aspect of this new industry.

Full consideration must be given to the probable need for Federal standards to be established either through the licensing power of the Atomic Energy Commission or by legislation.

(6) Since expanded peacetime atomic development will have a marked economic and social impact, its likely effects must be weighed carefully in advance and a program must be drawn to meet the human needs arising out of any dislocation of existing industry.

(7) The public must be kept informed fully of the nation's peacetime atomic plans and progress. The program of easing and eliminating secrecy restrictions on nonmilitary technical information must be greatly accelerated.

(8) The growth of atomic energy operations requires that particular attention be directed to the development of:

(a) A sound labor-management relations program, with maximum emphasis on free collective bargaining as an integral part of broadened private enterprise.

(b) Effective health and safety standards to meet the special hazards presented in work with radioactive materials.

(c) Provisions for fair compensation for workmen suffering radiation injury.

(d) A voluntary manpower program to assure a necessary supply of competent skilled labor to meet our atomic needs.

(9) A statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee should be established to advise the Atomic Energy Commission in developing these programs.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom: I move adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

## INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to call attention to a group of visitors present in this hall this morning. We have 80 Protestant and Orthodox clergymen from Greater New York who are present at this morning's session of the Convention. Their visit has been arranged by the National Council of Churches of Christ of America in cooperation with the Protestant Council of the City of New York, under the Director of the Department of Churches. I wish to call attention to the fact that they are here in the balcony on my right and say to them that we are very happy to have them with us this morning.

On Tuesday I introduced to you a number of foreign labor representatives who are visiting us here during this Convention. At that time I could not introduce all of them to you because some of them were sightseeing and were not in the hall at the time and others were attending meetings among their own groups. I would like now to present to you the remaining portion of the group of foreign representatives who are attending this Convention.

... President Meany introduced the following visitors:

Frank Cifka — Czechoslovak Free Trade Union Federation in Exile.

Konrad Nordahl—Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions.

Axel Strand—General Federation of Swedish Trade Unions.

Eller Jensen—Danish Federation of Trade Unions.

Anton Proksch—Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

Gordon Cushing — Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Juan Lechin—Former Minister of Mines of Bolivia, Leader of the Mineworkers of that country and now General Secretary of the Bolivian Confederation of Labor.

Wenceslao Moreno—General Secretary of the Maritime Workers Federation of Chile and Member of the ICFU Executive Board.

Ignacio Tellechea—Executive Board Member of the Cuban Maritime Union; Secretary of International Relations of the Cuban Confederation of Workers, and President of ORIT.

Facundo Pomar—President of the Transport Workers Federation of Cuba.

Angel Cofino—Secretary General of the National Federation of Electrical Workers of Cuba, and member of the Governing Body of ILO.

Xavier Bolnos—President of the Railway Brotherhood of Cuba.

Jose Garcia—Executive Board Member of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of Cuba.

Antonio Moreno—Executive Board Member of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of Cuba.

Jose Luis Martinez—Member of Parliament, General Secretary of the National Federation of Sugar Workers of Cuba.

Anibal Alvarez—Secretary-Treasurer of the Sugar Workers Union.

Rafael Gonzalez Villegas—Secretary of Foreign Relations, Sugar Workers Union.

Paul Valdivia—Assistant General Secretary and member of the ICFTU Plantations Committee.

Onorio Herrero — Executive Board Member of the Sugar Union.

Conrado Becquer—Congressman and Assistant General Secretary of the Sugar Workers Union.

Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga—Assistant to Secretary General Fidel Velazquez, member of Mexican Congress and Assistant Secretary of ORIT.

Francisco Perez Rios—Secretary of International Relations of CTM, General Secretary of the National Union of Electrical Workers of Mexico.

Leonardo Rodriguez—Member of Mexican Congress, Executive Board Member of the Union of Electrical Workers, CTM.

Yusuke Igarashi—Central Executive Committee, Japanese Federation of Trade Unions.

Takehiko Hayashi — Chairman, Fukuoka Branch Committee, Nishi-Nippon Railroad Labor Union.

Shigekazu Nishikawa — Chairman, Kansai Electric Power Workers Union.

Yoshimichi Kamura—Chairman, Nagasaki Prefectural Federation, Japanese Federation of Trade Unions.

Hajime Suitsu—Vice President, Nissan Motor Workers Union.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** In the name of the delegates to this Convention I wish to tell this group of visiting trade union brothers that we are very happy to have them here and very happy they have had the opportunity to come to this very important Convention, and to wish them well in their work and assure them of our cooperation in the international free trade union scene.

Thank you very much for coming, gentlemen.

. . . J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I am very happy to present to you our guest speaker for the morning, who comes to us in his capacity as Commander of the American Legion and whom we are very happy to welcome here as a representative of the millions of Americans who hold membership in the Legion and who have fought the good fight in two World Wars in our generation.

I am also happy to present him as the representative of many thousands of trade union members who are also members of the American Legion. We are very happy to have him here and to listen to what I am sure will be a very constructive address.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you Mr. J. Addington Wagner, Commander of the American Legion.

### **MR. J. ADDINGTON WAGNER** Commander of the American Legion

Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther, Officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Delegates to this Convention, and Friends:

I consider it not only a pleasure, but a great privilege and an honor to ad-

dress this historic Convention. I am fully aware of the significance of this moment in the history of the labor movement in the United States. I wish for you, and for all the working men and women in this country whom you represent, a successful Convention, and success in your efforts to make our country a better place in which to live. Less than two months ago, Mr.

George Meany honored us by addressing The American Legion's National Convention in Miami. As in other years, he again brought us a message of hope and of inspiration. He spoke to us in plain unvarnished terms—terms that we, as veterans of the armed forces, are well able to understand. Mr. Meany left us much food for thought. I have studied carefully what he said to us in Miami.

Just as the great organizations gathered here represent a broad cross-section of the American working people—so does The American Legion represent the very fabric of all of our people. Composed as it is of men and women from every element of our population who have only one thing in common—pride in their privilege of having served honorably during time of war—and with some 17,000 Posts in communities large and small across the country, the Legion is truly American in every respect.

And because it is a truly representative body, we believe that The American Legion expresses a truly representative opinion on those things which are of concern to all of the American people today.

It is true that we are partisan as regards those things which are of particular interest to the veteran population—such as veterans benefits program. We take great pride in the fact that the American war veteran receives more consideration from his government today than a member of any similar group in history. We believe this is the way the American people want it. This broad program of benefits has been created, for the most part, since The American Legion was organized, and to a very great extent through our efforts.

I may say, too, that what we have achieved we do not propose to give up. Perhaps we feel the same way about our veterans benefits program that the great labor organizations feel about the constructive advances they have made during the past generation. There are those who bemoan what the country has done and is doing for its veterans; apparently they resent the cost in dollars. They would like to have the program modified and restricted. They will not succeed.

We count labor among those who understand and support the veterans benefits program. Labor unions were among the first to realize the tremendous value to the nation of the G. I. Bill of Rights. It is now generally agreed that the cost of this legislation will be many times repaid in the higher level of income and the greater opportunities which it has provided for so many thousands of men and women. This type of productive legislation, along with the compensation and pen-

sion system, and the medical program—the greatest medical care program in the world today—all mean too much to our veterans for us to ever agree to their curtailment.

The American Legion is a fighting organization. We qualify for membership through honorable service in the armed forces in time of war. We believe that we are at our best when we speak vigorously for the things we believe in. We take pride in the fact that we have never deviated from an unswerving belief in the greatness and the future of our country, and that we have opposed anything which we believe to be un-American or anti-American. That is why Communism became an early target for The American Legion. From the earliest days of the establishment of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, we recognized it in its true and glaring light—and saw in it a threat to America and to the American way of life.

In any discussion involving Communism, two all-important elements of the Communist doctrine must be included. These are, first, that Communism is more than a mere political theory. Rather it is a philosophy, providing a way of life as complete in detail as the other philosophies developed by mankind, such as, for example, Christianity. But the Communist philosophy is predicated upon an initial premise of atheistic materialism. And this throws it into direct and irreconcilable conflict with Christianity, which accepts as its initial premise the existence of a Divinity, or Superior Being. The second element which must be borne in mind is that the Communist philosophy entertains a conviction that it has a missionary destiny to replace all conflicting philosophies. It considers itself to be the ultimate conclusion in philosophical development, and believes that it must finally be accepted by all peoples everywhere. Further, the Fathers and Prophets of Communism have postulated that the universal triumph of the new Way of Life must and will be accompanied by violence.

Now the two factors which I have mentioned explain nearly everything which Communists say and do both here and in other countries. They are the reasons why the Communist Party of the USA has been declared by the courts to be a revolutionary conspiracy rather than a political party.

Likewise, the same two factors provide a basis for understanding the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. They explain all of its tactics in all parts of the world, from India to Morocco to the United Nations. Every move, every action, every word is designed to promote the revolutionary advance of world Communism.

That is why the recent Geneva Conference failed of any constructive accomplishments. The American Legion last summer warned that the "Geneva Spirit," with all the smiles and soft talk from Russia, was a tactical maneuver designed to advance the basic Russian strategy of communizing the world. Events have most certainly proved that warning was correct.

We do not claim that this farsightedness has been our exclusive property.

Many people were equally realistic. I think all of you will be proud, for example, to know that on the occasion of his appearance before our National Convention in Miami in October of this year, Mr. George Meany made the following comment on the very subject which I am now discussing. I quote: "Through their present strategy, the Soviet rulers seek a period in which the free world will let down its guard and military defenses. They are playing for time in which we will do nothing—but which they will use for consolidating their gains and grabs of yesterday in preparation for even bigger conquests tomorrow."

Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention, I want you to know how heartening it is to The American Legion to hear those words from a leader of the labor movement in the United States, and to know that wherever they may have been successful, the Communists have failed utterly in their efforts to capture American Labor. I believe that this failure is the strongest assurance we have of the ability of the American people to resist Communist infiltration. We are all aware of the tremendous efforts which have been made by Communism during the past twenty-five years to take over the American labor movement. Had they succeeded they would have been well on the way to complete victory in our country, and indeed, in all the world.

But they failed. And in their failure is the greatest proof of the soundness and the moral strength of American labor unions in the United States of working men and women, and of America.

The free world is now engaged in evaluating, both in the public forum and in the high councils of governments, the international situation which prevails in the light of the Soviet attitude at Geneva, and trying to determine where we are now, and what we should do next.

While agreeing that this evaluation is necessary, I am unable to refrain from noting that once again it is the same old story—as it has been since the day we recognized Soviet Russia in 1933. The Communists act and we react. They move and we counter. They have successfully retained the initiative throughout the years—and their ability to call the turn has been most profitable to them—and it still is.

If the American Legion has consistently warned against one thing, that thing has been the negative approach which has too frequently characterized American foreign policy since the end of World War II. The record of the past ten years shows a continuing policy of slow withdrawal on our side in the face of the steady advance of Communism.

The cost of this negative policy has been heavy. I call your attention to the fact that 500 million free souls have disappeared into the Communist night since 1945.

We believe that the negative note in our foreign policy has contributed materially to the indecisiveness displayed by some of our allies. In the affairs of nations it is given to some to lead and to others to follow. It is our destiny

to lead the free world in this struggle to preserve the fruits of two thousand years of progress. But when we fail to show confidence in our own ability to meet the test, we should not be surprised that our less well-favored allies should get panicky and show a lack of taste for the battle.

The American Legion approved of and encouraged the Summit Conference of last summer. We agreed that the United States must never refuse to sit down at a table with anyone to talk peace. However, we were apprehensive of the bad side affects of the "Spirit of Geneva," and we believe that our fears were justified.

Despite the warnings of our President and the Secretary of State, there were those who succumbed to the attractive fragrance of that well-remembered perfume known as "Peace in Our Time." In the atmosphere which prevailed through the summer it did little good to sound the cry of alarm. And, of course, while this wishful, happy spirit of peace and security was spreading through the world, the Red fox was busy in the sheepfold. And even now that the Russians have to all intents admitted that they were not sincere about seeking settlements of international problems, they continue to profit; because it is now more difficult to brace our people to again accept the hard facts of cold war, the danger of new fringe wars, or even the catastrophe of general war. As terrible and unpleasant as are the prospects of such things, it is absolutely essential that the American people remain psychologically prepared to meet and to resist attack, in whatever form it may come. The American Legion will not shirk its duty to alert the American people to the continuing danger—however unpopular that duty may become.

And here the question might be asked: What, exactly, do we expect of our government in the face of the exposure of Communist insincerity at Geneva?

First, there must be recognition of the fact that we cannot hope to win the cold war by negotiating with Communism. Negotiation proceeds through sincerity and good faith. Communist philosophy holds, and Communist leaders have demonstrated, that they are bound to act in bad faith. It follows that our hope and our efforts must be directed toward the collapse of the Communist movement rather than toward co-existence with it. The Red leaders themselves, from Lenin on, have maintained that their system and ours cannot co-exist: that one or the other must prevail. This much at least of the Communist gospel, the American Government and the American people must acknowledge as true.

Second, The American Legion believes that a policy of greater frankness is in order. I mean greater frankness in speaking to the American people, to our allies, and to the Communists themselves. Instead of attempting to sweeten the bitter failure that was Geneva, the American Government, in our belief, should tell the people that Russia has again played us false, and that we have no reason to anticipate any let-up in the struggle between the two worlds.

I believe that America's allies should

be given to understand clearly that each of them is expected to pick up and carry a fair share of the burden of the common defense. The United States is in no position to risk men and supplies in an attempt to defend a nation which does not have the courage to defend itself. We have for too long treated all of our friends with equal solicitude and generosity—those who have shown the staunchest intention of defending themselves, as well as those who sometimes do not seem sure which side they want to be on. The American Legion submits there should be an end to this sort of thing. In the hard circumstances of the world we live in, it is necessary that everybody determine the path which shall be theirs to follow.

In our official conversations with the Communists we should make clear that we have not been deceived by their recent tactics. We should not strengthen Russian propaganda by appearing to accept as fact the obvious fiction of the Russian motives.

Another important point concerns the so-called neutrals. In the judgment of The American Legion it is time that we cease to condone the self-serving tactics of those nations which would profit from the cold war by carrying water on both shoulders. We encourage neutralism, as it is sometimes called, by making free-handed grants to countries which have no genuine friendship for us, and which collaborate with our enemies even while accepting our assistance. I am not reluctant to mention the specific example of India. This country for too long has been neutral on the side of the Communists. Yet it has received 500 million dollars in aid from the United States of America. The American Legion believes that we should stop trying to buy friendship with money.

My friends of labor, The American Legion has a natural interest in the foreign policy of the United States. Every member of our organization has personal knowledge of war. Many of us would serve again in the event of renewed conflict. Because we know war, we are the last who would promote a policy which we believe would be likely to lead to war. But history proves that no nation can buy peace through compromise with an enemy. And we are presently engaged with the most dangerous enemy in our history. He is dangerous because he has learned the art of making war unrelentingly and totally. There is no phase or area of our national life which is exempt from his assault. He strives as intensely to conquer our minds as he would to capture our cities. We say that we must meet this onslaught of Communism with the same relentless determination if we are to survive.

In the battles that are yet to be fought for the safety of our country, The American Legion looks confidently to the American labor movement. You have felt the painful effects of Communist efforts at infiltration. You have cause to know, perhaps better than anyone else, how dangerous the enemy can be. Because of your experience you have much to contribute toward the guidance of our country's future course.

The American Legion has enjoyed

and appreciated the spirit of cooperation which has existed between organized labor and organized veterans. We look forward to the continuance and to the growth of that spirit. And for our part, we say that when the chips are down for America, The American Legion will not be found wanting.

Again thanking you for the privilege of appearing before this historic Convention, I wish for you a most successful Convention and a most successful year ahead.

Thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I wish to assure Commander Wagner the labor movement as represented by the AFL-CIO will continue to cooperate with all organizations who have the common objective of preserving our free way of life.

I would like to tell him also that this Convention has already outlined a program of cooperation on veterans' legislation. We are going to seek re-employment and reinstatement rights for all veterans. We have outlined a detailed program to make the GI Bill and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act more effective. Also we are going to seek legislation for more housing for GIs and others in the middle-income groups, with a maintenance of the present low interest rates for GI loans.

We are going to continue to press for enlargement of hospital facilities for veterans. We have established as part of one of the standing committees of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations a Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and we have by resolution, at this Convention, asked all of our affiliates to set up similar committees to cooperate with that committee.

Commander Wagner, I thank you very much for your appearance here this morning and ask you to convey to your comrades in the American Legion the good wishes and assurances of future cooperation of this great labor federation.

Thank you, Commander Wagner.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I now wish to present to you the third of the religious leaders we have scheduled for this Convention. Tuesday, as you know, we heard from Rabbi Goldstein and yesterday from Father McGowan. This morning it is my pleasure to present to you Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ of America. Dr. Blake.

**DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE**  
President, National Council  
of Churches

First of all I would like to express to you and your officers the appreciation of the National Council of Churches and my appreciation for this opportunity to speak to you on this significant convention marking the merger of the two great bodies representative of organized labor in our country.

When the founding fathers were establishing the political framework of our democracy, the wisest of them were deeply concerned to construct a society in which there would be both unity and

diversity in American life. Unity was necessary if the nation was to survive. Diversity was necessary if men were to be free. They wrote a Constitution and amended it almost immediately with a Bill of Rights which was thus designed to govern a nation both strong and free. That they planned well, our history to this hour is proof enough. After nearly 170 years the nation is strong and Americans are free.

One of the constitutional methods by which the founding fathers accomplished their design was to provide for the distribution of powers and functions among the three branches of government and to reserve to the states and people those powers not expressly conferred upon the National Government. The growth of the powers of the Federal Government by successive judicial interpretations under the pressure of history would have greatly shocked the founding fathers. But they built better than they knew. For it has been the very flexibility of the Constitution which has been a part of its strength.

James Madison, one of the chief architects of the nation, made it clear both in public and private papers that one of his hopes for continued freedom was that there should always be a variety of voluntary groups and associations in American society organized around specific interests and purposes—a sufficient variety so that no permanent and uniform majority could be established that would agree upon everything. Madison feared the unrestrained power of any majority. Thus Madison, though a member of the then established Church in Virginia, lent his efforts towards disestablishment, in order that there might be a variety of Churches both strong and free. In the early years of the republic the very fact that the various Churches did not agree either on theology or economics, and that political majorities had always to restrain themselves in some aspects to remain a majority was a bulwark, as Madison hoped, against the tyranny that a solid ideological majority in a democracy is always in danger of becoming.

The history of the development of our political parties indicates that here too we have been fortunate (or better, under Providential care) that no party has ever quite become a solid majority. To go back no further than this century, we can remember that the long Republican ascendancy depended upon a relatively unstable coalition of the interests of the urban Northeast and the individualistic farmer of the Middle West. And later the period of Democratic ascendancy depended upon the equally unstable coalition of the interests of urban workers of the North and conservatives of the South. Just what the political future of the second half of the century will be, I am not willing to predict. But I do suggest that, so long as we have a variety of interests and convictions forced to take account of others' interests and convictions, we will be free.

For the first hundred years of the republic one of the great lacks among the voluntary organized groups of the nation was an adequate labor movement. Americans were free in those years only because of the geographic frontier



which with freedom of movement allowed the oppressed to move westward if they would. With the relative shutting down of the frontier in the 20th Century, American freedom demanded the strengthening of a labor movement, and the climax of its development is marked by this merger convention. There have been some who have looked with apprehension at the increased strength of labor with such a large and unified organization as you now have at your service. I am not one of those. I congratulate you on this occasion just as I congratulated the Protestant and Orthodox Churches on their achievement of five years ago in establishing the National Council of Churches which represents a constituency of 35,000,000 communicants plus a great many millions more loosely associated.

Now I would be afraid of the National Council of Churches if we all agreed about everything. We have in our constituency capitalists and managers as well as labor leaders and workers, and every Church worthy of the name is glad that this is so.

And that is the reason I am glad that you have invited various spokesmen from the various religious bodies of this nation. Some of you are Protestant, some Roman Catholic, some Jewish by faith and some Orthodox. That too is good.

And so I should like to pledge to you the interest and concern of the Protestant and Orthodox Churches in you and in your movement. All our ecclesiastical interests and all your labor interests ought to be neither identical with each other nor alien from each other. On the most important issues of moral concern we ought always to be staunch allies.

So also I covet the support of the Protestant and Orthodox labor leadership in the concerns of your Churches and of the National Council of Churches, which is our national instrument.

Thus I believe and only thus can labor and Church, under the providence of God and remembering our duty to Him, make our rightful contributions to the continued strength and freedom of our nation. In the complex pattern of American life, our strength and unity will be preserved only as we all recognize our duty to God and to our neighbors. Our freedom will be preserved only as we work with all men of integrity and good will whose interests and convictions on many matters differ, but whose loyalty to God transcends the boundaries of the nation and whose loyalty to the nation transcends the boundaries of all special interests.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** On behalf of all the delegates in attendance, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Blake for his visit with us and for his very, very inspiring address.

Thank you very much, Dr. Blake.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the following resolution:

### POWER

There is now general recognition, as organized labor has long advocated, that the expanding economy of the U. S. needs additional power and energy beyond even the most optimistic estimates of the recent past. The best informed sources predict the necessity of increasing the available supply from the present level of 7.7 kilowatt hours per man hour of work in all of industry to 14 kilowatt hours per man hour of work by 1970.

The need for increased power also stems from the increased use of electrical devices and processes in industry, in agriculture and in the home.

Many new industries use electro-process methods which require large amounts of electricity. Aluminum and titanium are two new industries in this category. Application of automation in industry generally requires tremendous increases in the use of electric power. The new atomic industry is both a large user and potential source of electric power. This total use of electric power at major AEC installations will increase in the one year from 1955 to 1956 by 20 billion kilowatt hours. Total AEC use of electricity which constitutes 9 percent of sales to consumers in 1955 will in 1956 increase to 12.8 percent of total consumption of electricity in the entire U. S. Part of this increase could be obtained from nuclear power reactors.

There are many new appliances in the homes. As additional power becomes available, more of it is used in the home for these appliances, and all of society benefits from the increased use. Experience in low-cost areas proves that the increase in use of power brings a higher standard of living in the home and on the farm, as well as expanded output and employment in the factory and in the mill. The housewife benefits. The worker benefits when low rates bring increased use. While residential users in Rhode Island paid \$8.74 for the identical amount of power which cost \$4.92 in Tennessee, the average residential use in Providence, Rhode Island was 1,230 kilowatt hours contrasting with an average residential use of 7,020 kilowatt hours in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

We are proud of the achievements of the TVA and will oppose all efforts to weaken or cripple this outstandingly successful program. We want no more Dixon-Yates proposals.

Only the Federal Government can provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins, and only the Federal Government can provide for the multi-purpose planning that can bring the maximum flood control, power, navigations recreation and irrigation which so many of our river basin areas need.

Hydroelectric power without expand-



ing nuclear and conventional fuel power plants cannot meet the total needs of our expanding economy. We must develop an expansion of our total supply. Public policy should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership. We believe that, whatever the form of ownership, workers employed in the construction or operation of power plants or the sale of electric power, are entitled to the same rights, benefits, and privileges of free organization and collective bargaining as workers in industry generally. We call for the repeal of any special restrictions on collective bargaining rights of workers in electric power industries; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO in Convention duly assembled supports programs for the expansion of electric power supply at the lowest feasible cost practical under the terms of programs which have been established since the use of electric power became widespread throughout the country:

1. The Federal Government should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership.
2. We ask the Federal Government to provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins. Specifically, we call for the earliest possible Congressional action for the authorization and construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River.
3. We call upon the various state governments involved to repeal legislation which denies to employees of publicly or privately owned electric power systems collective bargaining rights and privileges available to workers in industry generally in their respective states.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN**: I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

### NATURAL GAS

A determined effort is being made by the producers of natural gas to pass legislation which would exempt the primary production of gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The House of Representatives during the past session of Congress passed the Harris Bill. The issue is now pending in the Senate.

There is ample evidence that removal of regulation would increase prices to consumers of gas by many millions of dollars and unreasonably swell the profits of the producers. Historically, organized labor has consistently supported the interests of consumers; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, This Convention of the AFL-CIO instructs its officers to vigorously oppose any bill designed to exempt the primary production of gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

### Introduction of \$64,000 Question Contestant

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: We have a great deal of talent in the labor movement of various kinds. This morning we had a song written and sung by a gentleman who is a member of both the Rubber Workers Union and the Musicians Union.

We have here this morning a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO, who is presently a contestant on the \$64,000 TV program and who has reached the \$8,000 level on the subject, if you please, of poetry. I would like to introduce him to take a bow—Brother Roscoe C. Wright.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Resumed)

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran reported on behalf of the Committee as follows:

### FEDERAL FLOOD INSURANCE

Insurance to protect real and personal property from the ravages of floods and hurricanes is rarely available, and then at almost prohibitive premiums. Damage from recent floods in six Northeastern states alone is estimated at nearly two billion dollars, ninety-eight percent of which is uninsured.

Federal and state grants to disaster areas are limited exclusively to the removal of debris and the restoration of public property and buildings, utilities, streets and highways. Other assistance to the victims of floods and hurricanes is severely limited by the meager resources of voluntary agencies such as the National Disaster Services of the American National Red Cross and other forms of community relief.

Flood victims often become debt victims because of the mortgage and personal loans they are forced to obtain to rehabilitate themselves after disaster. Many families, such as retired workers, are, however, not eligible for loans; now therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO urges the Congress of the United States to create a system of federal insurance to protect citizens from the loss of houses, furniture, factories and heavy equipment in floods, hurricanes and other natural disasters.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN**: I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution.

### SUPPORT OF UNIONS ON STRIKE

American unions believe in peaceful collective bargaining. It is always our aim to reach agreement through peace-

ful negotiations, without resort to the strike weapon. We are well aware that the effects of a strike are felt not only by the employer, but pre-eminently by the striking workers themselves; and in lesser degree by the general public.

Our unions do not lightly decide to strike or engage in walk-outs for frivolous or trivial reasons. We do not strike until every other legitimate means of arriving at a satisfactory settlement has been exhausted.

In the final analysis, however, a strike is, in many situations, the workers' only weapon; and recourse to it their only hope of winning better wages, hours, and working conditions. This can be clearly seen in some of the bitter strikes in which our affiliates are now engaged.

Such a struggle is now being carried on by nearly 55,000 Westinghouse workers, represented by the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, who are now in the eighth week of the largest and longest nationwide strike of 1955.

Westinghouse management ruthlessly and irresponsibly provoked this strike by attempting to tear up its present two-year contract with the IUE and impose a substandard wage-slashing and job-cutting five-year agreement. It has perpetuated the strike by autocratically refusing to negotiate in good faith, by bargaining only on an ultimatum basis of "take-it-or-leave-it," and by initiating strike-breaking and union-busting campaigns through the use of injunctions, back-to-work movements, bribery and scab-herding.

In paramount issue is the sanctity of collective bargaining agreements, honestly negotiated and solemnly signed, and the threat to all unions which lies in Westinghouse management's assumption that it has the unilateral right, without consultation or negotiation, to alter work standards and to shift incentive jobs to day work while depriving workers of incentive pay scales.

Since April 13, more than 3,000 hotel employees of Miami and Miami Beach, Florida, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union, have been on strike against the major hotels in the Miami area. The objective of the employees has been simply to win the right to bargain collectively with their employers in order to correct intolerable conditions of wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite the fact that the union unquestionably has the support of the overwhelming majority of the hotel employees in the area, most of the employers have adamantly refused to recognize the union, although in recent weeks a few of the hotels have recognized and have signed satisfactory agreements with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union.

Although no agency in Florida has taken any jurisdiction whatsoever over this situation, the National Labor Relations Board has refused to assert its jurisdiction in this case. Thus the hotel workers have been denied any opportunity to obtain the redress which is their right under the law and now find themselves in a legal no-man's-land

without protection from either the Florida courts or from the NLRB.

In another situation, the flight engineers of United Air Lines have been on strike for seven weeks against the stubborn refusal by the airline to accept job security conditions of employment that have been incorporated into the contracts with other major airlines. The importance of this strike transcends the relatively small number of workers who are involved, because on its success or failure is likely to hinge the future course of labor relations in the entire airline industry. The valiant fight which the Flight Engineers' International Association has been waging against this strongly entrenched employer deserves the wholehearted support of every international and local union of the trade union movement.

In Wisconsin, workers at the Kohler Co., members of Local 833, have been on strike longer than any other group of workers in the history of the UAW-CIO. Since April 5, 1954, they have manned their picketlines to win for themselves and their children benefits and working conditions which have become standard throughout the rest of industrial America. Twenty-one years ago their employer broke a strike of a fine AFL Federal Labor Union with a private company army. Two men were killed, shot in the back, and 48 men, women and children injured by gunfire from inside the plant. The company still has tear gas and an arsenal available, still tries to conduct its relations with its workers with the same brutal methods which characterized its labor relations a generation ago. All members of organized labor are urged to help the courageous members of the United Automobile Workers striking at Kohler to win a fair and equitable contract by refusing to buy and urging all fair-minded people not to buy plumbware and engines made by Kohler until the Kohler workers win a just contract.

These four strikes as well as all other legitimate strikes deserve the full, sympathetic, and sincere support of all union members. Furthermore, all union members are indirectly affected by the outcome of every strike, no matter what may be the immediate issue involved. For a lost strike anywhere tempts reactionary employers to take more intransigent positions in bargaining or to discard collective bargaining altogether in favor of unilaterally imposed wages and working conditions. In contrast, a successful strike may result in benefits being achieved by many thousands of workers not directly involved in the strike.

In unity there is strength, and only if workers stand together can they hope to equate their strength to that of the powerful forces arrayed against them; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO and all its affiliates pledge their support and that of their members for all legitimate strikes.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM**: Mr. President, I move adoption of the Committee's report.  
... The motion was seconded.

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: You have heard the report of the Committee and

the recommendation of support for the striking workers. The motion is to adopt.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Carey.

**VICE PRESIDENT CAREY:** President Meany and delegates: It was my great privilege to attend a convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933. As I look over this Convention I see a marked difference in terms of size and strength. There are unions that exist today that did not exist some 22 years ago. In fact, I am reminded as I see this Convention on the achievement of unity in labor, that this Convention so well demonstrates the story of another man who had a great job and task of organizing. When Noah assembled the animals in the Ark he brought them in two by two and he had to be very careful that there was not too much affection demonstrated between those animals. It was a question of multiplication. If the lions and the tigers and the others got together with their opposite sex perhaps through multiplication that Ark would sink.

Well, here in the labor movement we might describe it as the animals leaving the Ark and going down two by two, and as the animals had left a Tom cat came along, and with his female cat there followed a whole row of kittens. The Tom cat looked up into the eyes of Noah and said, "Well, Noah, you thought we were fighting."

Well, I report to you and this tremendous labor movement that our fight today must be against those who are attempting to destroy our unions and their contracts. I humbly report to you on behalf of those 55,000 Westinghouse Workers now on strike for their 55th day. From Massachusetts to California the plants of Westinghouse are down. Not a single, solitary wheel has turned. Not a piece of production has come off the lines. And before that group submits to the terms of that corporation, despite its billion dollars of resources, that union must go out of business, as will that corporation go out of business.

We have had twelve weeks of negotiations since that strike began. Negotiations started this morning at 10 A.M. There are only two issues involved—the question of ground rules for studies determining rates of pay, and the issue of a wage increase under the contract. That contract has until October 15, 1956, to run. But this corporation said to us, "We must tear up the present contract with a year to run and accept an inferior 5-year proposition. They told us that because we had an agreement with General Electric Corporation, the only 5-year agreement in our entire history of 400 competitors of Westinghouse, they were going to give us an inferior proposition or else they would starve our members out until we saw fit to accept their proposition.

I ask these newspaper men present here, as well as the delegates, what would the editorials say if our unions walked into Westinghouse and said to them, "We just signed an agreement with one of your competitors that provides benefits superior to yours. We want Westinghouse to tear up our agreement and provide us with the benefits that we have received under a con-

tract with your competitor."

I suppose a union would be called irresponsible to tear up a contract in the middle of its term, but that is what Westinghouse is doing. They are suggesting that after 55 days of strike the people will capitulate. Our members are walking the picket lines. They are facing this billion-dollar corporation as trade unionists must face corporations that are so irresponsible that they would tear up a union contract. They established their back-to-work movement. The managers and foremen and supervisors were asked to leave the union and go to work. They are sending letters to the homes of our members. They are hiring scabs where they can. They are using the local police and the sheriffs, the deputies and the state police. They have got injunctions, and in some cases they are still seeking to enforce those injunctions. They engage in rumors and whispering campaigns that the strike is nearly over. They send fake letters from strikers' wives to government officials and to the newspapers. They furlough 40 per cent of the officials of the corporation, and the technicians to give them time to engage in scab recruiting. They are offering \$20 a day hand-outs to ask our people to scab in these plants. They need 55,000 people for 55 days, and despite that campaign, they are only able to get 150 people to even attempt to go into those plants. When they do go in we engage in educational work to convince them that they are violating the spirit of brotherhood and doing themselves injury, and they can't get the 150 to go in two days running.

I want to say to this Convention that we deeply and sincerely appreciate the way our unions, both AFL unions and CIO unions, have rallied to our assistance. I want to say thank you to George Meany and to Bill Schnitzler for publishing a full-page ad before the merger took place, indicating the support of all of labor in this important strike.

Our Union is not a big or rich organization. It has had to organize twice in its short years of existence. A short time ago the Communists so infiltrated our ranks that we had to cast them out of CIO and organize that union again. We had the opposition of the employers. They even sought to take advantage of our fight with the Communists to keep our people divided.

My great thanks go to the Steelworkers. Many of their locals are right in the same communities. Their contract provides for this 15-cent-an-hour increase that we asked of Westinghouse in the same kind of contract, and they don't permit production standards for these day workers that Westinghouse is trying to impose.

They said to us, "We will make available to you a half million dollars" and they have so far, at the rate of \$50,000 a week, provided relief for our membership. The United Automobile Workers have done likewise. We had on arrival at this Convention today a union presenting a \$10,000 check, another union \$25,000. From the International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers and Helpers, \$5,000. We have received over a million dollars from former AFL and CIO unions.

I might say to you that with our resources as a union we could only provide one dollar per member per week. The Steelworkers made it possible to double that. The Auto Workers made it possible to triple it. With the help and assistance of the other unions we are able to multiply it by four. So we have four dollars per week per member for the purposes of giving relief to these great warriors, these courageous people who are fighting the battle so necessary for the continued existence of labor.

I say to all of you, four dollars a week is all we are able to provide, but that is far more than we ever expected. Those 55,000 workers will continue their fight, and we look to the day when we can be of assistance to any other group confronted with the same kind of problem.

I have a detailed report of the strike, all the issues involved, and I would like to present this detailed book to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, to be scrutinized by anyone who is interested in supporting this struggle. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Vice President Carey.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Kent.

**DELEGATE KENT, Flight Engineers:** President Meany, members of the Executive Council, sister and brother delegates to this great Convention. I rise to speak in support of 250 flight engineers of the United Air Lines who are now in the seventh week of a strike against that company.

In seven weeks there has been no effort by the company, in spite of efforts by the flight engineers, to settle this dispute. The company's efforts have been strictly on strike-breaking and recruiting of scabs to continue to operate that air line.

These 250 flight engineers on United Air Lines are spread from New York to Honolulu, and we are attempting with that small membership to picket some 80 airports across the country 24 hours a day to give our message to the traveling public and our fellow trade unionists around this country. We are in need of your support, moral support and financial support.

I want to bring to your attention the factor which has made it possible for United Air Lines to continue to operate a substantial part of their operation, and that is the strike-breaking and the scabbing of the members of the Air Line Pilots Association. I believe it is now common knowledge in this Convention that the Air Line Pilots had their charter revoked by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which preceded this great Convention, for their acts of strike-breaking unless within 10 days they squared themselves for their anti-union activity and strike-breaking on the United Air Lines Strike. Six days of that ten-day period have now passed, and every pilot, scab and strike-breaker is still continuing to operate, and it appears now that the pilots do not care whether they stay in the great Federation represented here or not, but rather choose to be scabs and strike-breakers in that big strike.

We thought years ago that the era of the goon had passed. Yet we have a striker in a hospital in Portland, Oregon, at this moment who was struck from behind and has been in the hospital for about a week.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen here present today, in returning to your various constituents to bring our strike and the struggle of these 250 men, spread thin as they are across the country, to your every member, and I ask your help and support to help these people win a strike for issues that are less than what we have gained in every other company in this industry this year.

Thank you very much for your attention.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** With the permission of the Convention, I will set aside this discussion until we hear from our very distinguished guest. We will recognize the other speakers who wish to speak on this question of support for striking unions.

... Mr. Adlai Stevenson was escorted to the platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I am very happy to present this morning one whom I am sure everyone in this hall knows and knows very well because of his tremendous campaign three years ago. However, perhaps a great many people do not know of his very splendid record as a public servant prior to that campaign. Of course, the people of Illinois know all about that, but I am sure a great many Americans do not know of that record. It is on the basis of that record and also on the basis of the ideas, ideals and aspirations he presented to the American people three years ago that we are very happy to welcome him here again this morning to deliver an address to you and to tell us what he has on his mind for 1956.

It is a great deal of pleasure to present to you the Honorable Adlai Stevenson.

### HONORABLE ADLAI STEVENSON

Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, delegates from the ICFU, delegates to the convention, visitors and friends: I thought when Mr. Meany introduced me and said that I was going to address you he might slip inadvertently and say that you were going to hear another address, because I have come to the full and painful awareness that you have had almost a week of convention oratory, and I am sure, Mr. Meany, that whatever I may say you will have heard said at least twice before and at least once better.

Furthermore, if you should conclude that you have heard exactly the same speech before I would ask you to be charitable, because there are only so many combinations of the English language that are possible, and I am sure they have all been used here this week.

Moreover, after your long deliberations here and the long evenings and afternoons that you have spent in the cultural centers of New York, in the museums, the art galleries, I am sure

that the merger that would appeal to most of you most would be with your bed.

Yet you must have had a feeling of participation in an historic occasion, for here in a very real sense history and destiny have come together for a moment in time.

Behind this meeting lies a century and a half of preparation, of building, of upward struggle, of fighting for a liberty no working man could win alone, but only in company with his brothers.

During much of that period there was freedom for enterprise but little for labor. Samuel Gompers and the dedicated men and women around him faced a system that dealt with them cruelly and unfairly, that made them the victims of violence, of espionage, of injunctions and yellow dog contracts. It is a measure of their fortitude and character that they fought back—not to destroy that system, but, knowing its basic worth, to improve it by seeking, through collective action, equality of economic strength for labor.

We stand today beneath the giant tree they planted. But it remained for others to make organized labor and collective bargaining truly vital and effective forces in our economic democracy. Phil Murray, Bill Green, Sidney Hillman, Martin Durkin—from my own State of Illinois—and those who work with them, were not just great leaders of American labor; they were great Americans.

And now today there is this new achievement of a labor statesmanship as bold and constructive as any that has gone before. It has added to labor's development that element that has in the past twenty years been lacking. This week the two halves of a bridge that has long been building have been brought together. Where there was separateness and division now there is unity. Where there was incompleteness now there is completeness.

To you, George Meany, and to you, Walter Reuther, and to all of you in the labor movement, a nation is indebted for making America—and therefore freedom—stronger.

You will hardly believe it, but I have read your new constitution. Indeed, I want to take as the text for my remarks the opening statement in your Preamble—that in this merger "is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America."

What are these hopes and aspirations and what is your proper course in pursuing them?

They are, to begin with, I suggest, the hopes and aspirations not just of labor, not just of any single group in America, but of all Americans.

This means ALL Americans—with-out regard to race or religion or national origin. "All colors" your Convention motto says, and "all creeds." I hope with all my heart that there will be in this united labor movement no compromise with this essential basic principle.

There has been too much preaching and not enough practicing of what true equality of opportunity really means.

Now by putting your own house in order you are helping to put the nation's house in order, and I suspect that your leadership on this front may well prove one of the most immediate, yet most enduring, fruits of your new union.

There is another vital aspect to this matter of the unity of American hopes and aspirations. I intended, when I accepted your invitation, not to let this even savor of a political speech. I propose, nevertheless, to speak bluntly about what appears to be a design to play the ugly politics of group conflict and hatred.

It started with the Secretary of Agriculture's attempt to blame the farmer's current depression on the city worker's wage increase. And now the Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee has charged labor leaders with organizing "a conspiracy of national proportions" to take over the federal government; the National Chairman of the "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners has made his curious insinuating statement that labor became a potent political force in America at about the same time as the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany; a member of the cabinet has said that he doesn't "happen to go along with some of the 'goons' who are 'running things'"; and a Republican state chairman has proclaimed that labor leaders are "Marxist-Socialist bosses who are trying to take this country down a rathole."

And by the way, that must be the biggest rathole that the Republicans have contrived yet.

Now I say to you, soberly that this is dangerous politics. This is divisive and therefore destructive. We in this country are just emerging from a long and shameful interval of hate and fear and slander. Today McCarthyism is out of style. But is a similar hate campaign in the making around distorted images of "goons" and "power hungry labor bosses," ugly phrases we hear almost daily? Must the image of America be further defaced? Is this, indeed, an attempt to stir up class conflict?

No election, no office, is worth such a price!

I suggest we put an end to this and quick. And I am glad to note that voices of protest against these attacks have risen among our Republican friends. I even saw a headline, Mr. Meany, as I was coming to New York the other day: *GOP Ranks Split Over Assaults on Labor*. Well, the first part of that—*GOP Ranks Split*—was hardly worth a headline. After the divisions we have witnessed in the Republican party over foreign policy, farm policy, McCarthyism and whatnot it occurred to me, as I thought of this merger in the labor movement, that the next great merger of important, influential groups which this country needs most is a merger in the Republican party. Maybe these gentlemen who denounce you so freely could use you to help them get together. And by the way, if you find any of them who find an unhappy home in the merged party, well, there will always be a light burning in a Democratic window.

But it remains basically important that this matter of labor's relationship to the rest of the society be faced so-



berly, not as an excuse for arousing passions and fears, but as an opportunity for increasing democracy's strength to its maximum.

This Federation has already served a clear notice I take it, that it proposes to measure its responsibilities by its power, and to make no demands as a special interest.

You have left no question, on the score of responsibility within your ranks about your intentions and your capacities to keep communism out of labor unions. You have left no doubt that you will deal vigorously and effectively with racketeers and those who abuse their stewardship of welfare or pension funds.

I have read the resolutions of this Convention. They speak plainly and eloquently your full realization that labor can solve its problems as America solves its problems.

Speaking of labor's public responsibility, I had an experience on Sunday at my home near Chicago. I was visited by a very intelligent South American who seemed a little surprised when I told him that while I had hopes, I didn't know how the 15 million union workers would vote in the next election, but that I was certain that a separate Labor party in the European sense of a great political machine would not come out of this merger. I told him that labor was not a disciplined voting minority in this country, and that working people voted not on orders but on convictions. And I told him, too, that nowadays those convictions rested not on any separate status a man might have as a trade unionist but on his status as a citizen with his own ideas about what is good for him and for his country.

That's the way it is, and I think that's the way it ought to be.

But let's be equally clear about this too: That the more people who take part in the processes of American Government the stronger it is going to be—and the better informed they are the better job of democratic self-government they are going to do. Democracy needs all the political participation it can get out of just as many individuals and just as many responsible groups as is possible. Like you, I have been astonished by some worried declarations I've heard in the last few days about the dangers of an unlimited franchise for working people and their organized political activities. And while I've adverted to this subject of voting let me say that like you, too, and every democracy-loving person in America, Republican or Democrat, I've been shocked and ashamed by the recent reports of bloody violence and gross intimidation to prevent people from exercising their right, indeed their duty, to vote in one section of our country.

I say that what is true politically, so far as the responsibility of this great labor union is concerned, is also true economically.

Many of us, I think, have been disturbed in recent years by the implications of bigness: big business, big labor, big government, mass communications, mass mindedness, mass manipulation—growing massiveness in everything. Little businesses, independent businesses,

are vanishing like the autumn leaves. And as labor and industry get larger the consumer gets smaller. He is fast becoming the forgotten man.

So I have been gratified by the resolutions adopted at this convention which reflect clearly your recognition of these other interests, particularly of the consumer. Giant as labor now is it recognizes that the consumer is its sovereign and will have ultimately always the last word.

For the one thing we all are consumers, and we get the right answers to most of our economic problems by consulting our interests as consumers.

And so I would submit—in answer to those who seek to breed antagonisms and conflict between labor and other interests—that the effective working of twentieth century democratic capitalism in America depends upon full recognition that organized labor is an essential and a responsible partner in the economy and the community; that it is concerned not only with the problems of labor as labor, but even more with those of citizens as citizens, of people as people; that the hopes and aspirations of "working people" are the hopes and aspirations of all people.

Now there are some who seem to think that America's hopes and aspirations have all been satisfied, that we have reached our goal, our end—that we have the twin blessings of peace and prosperity, and that all we need from here on is pep talks and platitudes. Indeed, in this day of policy by slogan and conviction by capsule—like progressive conservatism, or conservative dynamism, or even paralytic liberalism, I'm expecting to hear any day some solemn statesman promise to tread a careful line between partiality and impartiality!

But whoever says that we have arrived at our goal, that this is the best of all possible worlds, convicts himself of the twin sins of complacency and ignorance. He must know very little about the unsatisfied wants—and about the dreams—of people. He must know little and care less.

Our greatest hope, our most consuming aspiration, is of course for peace, for peace with freedom, without which there can be no tolerable peace.

Since the disturbing state of the world has been discussed so ably and so recently by the distinguished Governor of New York, let me only say here today that it seems to me among the brightest promises of this new Federation that the powers and resources of America labor for peace may not be even more fully realized.

Our country's role in winning wars, labor's role in helping to win wars, has been duly recognized.

But its potential for winning peace has not been—even despite the accomplishments of American labor representatives in fighting Communism on its own ground, where it counts most, in the factories of Europe, in the rice fields of Asia, and all around the world.

In the long run the issue between Communism and Democracy is going to be finally settled not in the councils of diplomats or by the heads of government, but in the minds and hearts—yes, and the stomachs—of the multitudes of the ordinary working people



of Asia, of Africa, of Europe, yes, and of the Americans, too.

The voice of our America which can speak most clearly and persuasively to these people is the voice of American labor—of the AFL-CIO. I know that from this Convention there will go out to working men and women in every country—who speak a multitude of tongues but who have it in common that they work with their hands and hold freedom in their hearts—the report of democracy's deeds and of how much more real they are than Communism's hollow promises. And I am glad you representatives from the ICFTU are here to carry back to your people that message.

Here at home our central purpose is, in its broadest sense, to create fuller lives for all our people. I am acutely conscious of the fact that virtually every speaker who has appeared before you this week has developed that theme. But it is that important to our thinking. For this is a time of transition from the old to the new; from the small to the big; from embattled labor, if you please, to mighty labor; from national isolation to national involvement. It is a time of transition, too, from the ancient problem of sharing scarcity to the modern problem of distributing abundance.

Yet we must start from a recognition of the ironical fact that in this age of abundance there remain today 30 million people in America who are still seeking freedom from want.

The New Deal began the campaign against poverty and injustice under that good American whom you will honor later today, Franklin Roosevelt. That campaign progressed with conviction and courage under another fighting leader, President Harry Truman. I am sure our present distinguished President's objectives are identically the same.

But the task is far from finished if we are to live in health and decency. While we count with gratitude all the blessings we already enjoy, it is sobering to reflect that in a nation where a single company is making this year, before taxes, over two billion dollars, some eight million families are trying to make ends meet on \$2,000 or less—hardly half of what is required to maintain a minimum level of decent living.

The question is not whether we are for or against prosperity. The question is whether we are for or against doing anything about the fact that 30 million Americans today don't have prosperity.

Some of you live in farming country. You know what has happened to farm income since 1952—and you know, too, what effect it has on business in your localities. I am glad that labor has joined fully in the demands for a new and adequate federal farm program.

Some of you live in the "depressed areas"—the textile towns, the coal fields, other areas where shortened work days and darkened plants have again become the rule, and where national statistics cannot dull the miseries of unemployment.

If we want to keep today's relative prosperity everybody must share it. It is even truer today than it was when the Knights of Labor devised their slogan

that "An injury to one is an injury to all."

And there is more to be done to improve our economic shock absorbers. Unemployment compensation must be extended and its benefits made more realistic. And where industries work out guaranteed wage or supplementary compensation systems, these efforts should not be stymied by administrative or legislative roadblocks.

Yet the battle against insecurity is only half the battle for a better life. A full dinner pail is a necessity. But Americans have never lived by bread alone. We have lived by ideals and by moral values. And in your new Constitution, you list among our goals the "strengthening and extension of our way of life" and increasing the "dignity of the human individual."

What do these phrases really mean? Well, they mean that we want our children to grow up, not in ramshackle country shacks or in ugly city slums, but in decent surroundings, where they can see the sun and breathe the air.

They mean that we want our children to go to school, not in crowded classrooms or in basements or on half-day shifts, but in decent buildings with good teachers proud of their responsibility.

They mean that when our children are sick we want them to have decent medical care—and not suffer while the family hesitates because of the doctor's bill.

When they grow old, we want them to have the decent security which a life's work entitles them to.

Yes, and the strengthening of our way of life means, too, making more secure the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively—to make democracy work in the plant, in the shop, on the job, in people's daily working lives. The laws must be fair to all: to the workers, to the employers, and to the people, too. The so-called right-to-work laws do not meet this test. And there has long been agreement that many of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are inequitable and unworkable and should be changed or removed.

We must look ahead now to the handling of new factors in America's exciting economic future—to automation, to the peaceful use of atomic energy, to other miracles of progress just opening up. They must be used to increase the standard of living for the many, not just the standard of luxury for the few—to produce more leisure and not more unemployment. It will take careful planning, much more than there has been so far, to see to it that progress pays off in time—for all of us—to enjoy the really good things in life.

These are our hopes and aspirations, the meaning of "dignity of the human individual." They are the proportions of the human challenge of 1955.

And let no one say that this generation cannot meet that challenge. The plain fact is that we have today, as a people, the wealth to do all of these things. The only question is whether we have the will to do them. I think we have.

We conquered the depression—working together. And we won the war—

working together. But we have not learned to work fully together to use the fruits of abundance for our broader welfare—for our programs for education, for hospitals, for slum clearance and urban rehabilitation, for social security. None of these things which we must do together have kept up with our expanding national wealth.

What then will it take to meet this challenge, to satisfy our hopes and aspirations for something beyond the heaping up of material abundance?

Well, it will take a willingness to do together what cannot be done by individuals alone. I think there is among us this full willingness today.

It will take, too, a leadership which has faith in the future, and vision, and an understanding of what the people of America really want, and of how much they really want it.

It will take a government which finds its mandates in consideration of the general welfare, and of no single interest.

It will take a commitment that in our daily lives we live by the Bill of Rights to which we subscribe as a nation.

It will take a refusal ever to be satisfied, a vision of an America growing ever more beautiful and a freedom ever more complete, a deep conviction, if you please, in the continued perfectability of the human spirit.

It will take the full-hearted belief of all of us that we in America have only just begun to live.

These, and nothing less than these, are our hopes and aspirations.

A nation's best wishes go with you of labor as you set out now on your united, stronger pursuit of these high purposes.

Good luck.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** We note that Governor Stevenson said at the opening of his address that the things he was going to say had most likely been said before during this week. But I am sure we can all agree that, while there may have been attempts before this week to set forth the ideals and aspirations of this great organization for not only its members but for the American people, if they were said they were not said as well as he said them to us this morning.

So in your behalf I wish to say very simply what you have perhaps said a great deal better by your response to his address—thank you very, very much Governor Stevenson.

We will now return to the subject matter which we interrupted in order to hear Governor Stevenson. That was the report of the Resolutions Committee on the subject of "Support for Striking Unions."

#### **Resumption of Discussion on Resolution—Support of Unions on Strike**

**DELEGATE HOWARD WALTON,** Florida Industrial Union Council: Mr. President, on the resolution, "Supporting Unions on Strike," I feel that I would be remiss today if I did not mention the recent 72-day strike of the Communications Workers of America in the nine Southern states. Down there we have support in reality, and we have support

of the type that would exemplify what we are attempting to do with this merged organization.

Oftentimes the success of a strike in a good many small communities depends on the wholehearted support that we have from our brothers in the AFL unions. And I would just like to take this opportunity to say thanks very much for a job that was well done. We appreciated it, and if everybody else can get the type of support while on strike that you folks gave to us, I am quite sure we will lick the job and the anti-union legislation down there in the South.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes President Miller of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union.

**DELEGATE EDWARD MILLER,** Hotel and Restaurant Employees: President Meany and delegates: I think that you have read enough about our Miami Beach and Miami Hotel strike, but I would like to bring you up to date on what is going on in Miami at the present time.

Our fight in Florida was to stop men and women from working 14 hours a day and 7 days a week. We have heard so much here this week on what is going on behind the Iron Curtain, if we only travel through the South we would find some of the same conditions prevailing in that territory.

Our International Union is not here to solicit funds. Fortunately, we have a very sizable defense fund. But we are here to ask you for moral support.

I might say that when the Mayor of New York City was in Miami just a few days ago he refused to go into one of the non-union hotels. Also at this same meeting was the previous speaker, Mr. Stevenson, who also refused to go into the hotel. Just this week a notice went out over the press that Harry Truman was going into the San Souci—one of the non-union, one of the scabbiest hotels in Miami Beach. As sure as I know Harry Truman and as you know him, you can bet your life that on January 27th he will be registered in a union hotel.

Our International Union has spent over one million dollars fighting the non-union association that exists in Miami.

It is our desire to see that these people who come under our jurisdiction allotted to us by the American Federation of Labor receive a living and a livable wage—not a slave wage.

So, therefore, may I ask, Mr. Chairman, that when the delegates go to Miami and Miami Beach you see that you are registered in a union hotel. We have four at the present time, and we hope to have more in the near future.

For your information, we are striking three big hotels within the next two weeks. Without your help and without your continued support in the press and in your magazines, both A. F. of L. and CIO, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, we cannot win this fight. We need your moral help. I am sure through the new merged Council that they see the importance of our laying the foundation of a labor movement in the South that is so badly needed.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Is there further discussion on the report of the Resolutions Committee on the question of support for striking unions? If not, we will proceed to vote.

The motion is to adopt the report. Those favoring the motion signify by saying aye; contrary minded, no.

The motion is carried, and it is so ordered.

### **PRESENTATION OF RINGS**

#### **To President Meany and Vice President Reuther**

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** The Chair recognizes Delegate Tom Murphy of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

**DELEGATE MURPHY:** President Meany and delegates to this Convention: During the two or three days of this Convention I have read in the papers that it has been called a marriage. In most instances a marriage symbolizes an exchange of gifts or at least an exchange of rings between the interested parties. In that connection, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Bricklayers of New York City, Mr. Andrew Lawler, Secretary, and Albert Cerussi, Chairman, I have been asked in their behalf—and it is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I present to the principal parties in this "moiger," as Marty Lacey calls it, or merger—Honorable George Meany a ring signifying the marriage or merger of two great organizations—a ring that you will not be able to see, but I will take the opportunity to describe.

It is two clasped hands, significant

of the clasped hands that you see on the poster. It comes apart and is inscribed on one side "NYEC" and on the other side "AFL-CIO". The hands join in one great federation that we have seen married and born this week in this hall.

I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the Bricklayers and Plasterers International Union to present this ring first to President Meany.

... Mr. Murphy presented the ring described to President Meany.

**DELEGATE MURPHY:** The principals in a marriage ought to be joining hands rather than me. I am appearing here probably as the officiating clergyman without benefit of portfolio.

I will now call President Reuther to the platform to receive the same token of our esteem and affection.

... Vice President Reuther came to the platform and received a similar ring.

**DELEGATE MURPHY:** President Meany and Vice President Reuther, on behalf of the organization which I am proud to represent I thank you very much.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Thank you, Brother Murphy, and through you also our thanks to the New York Executive Committee of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

... Following an announcement by Secretary Schnitzler of the time and location of a meeting of delegates representing AFL-CIO Government Employee Unions, the Convention recessed at 12:30 o'clock, P.M. until 2:00 o'clock, P.M.

## FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:10 o'clock.

## AFL-CIO ENTERTAINERS

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** This afternoon session will start off with a little entertainment for a few minutes from some entertainers, all members of the AFL-CIO. We are going to revive the memory of some very lovely songs from the musical comedy, "Pins and Needles," which was produced by the ILGWU here some 17 or 18 years ago. I have asked one of America's outstanding actors to present these people to you. This man is a great actor on TV, film and stage. He is also a very good union man. He just finished a great performance in the show, "Inherit the Wind." And he is a friend of many of the people sitting in this hall.

It is a pleasure to present to you our good friend Melvyn Douglas.

**MR. MELVYN DOUGLAS:** It is a great pleasure to be here for the minutes that I will be here this afternoon. It is most encouraging to see this vast Convention with thousands of delegates, I suppose I can say. It has been a very exciting experience for me to read the press coverage of this Convention, to be able to follow at home on radio and on television what has been going on here. It has been unusually exciting to read in the New York Times magazine section a lead article by your great new President. This has been particularly exciting for those of you who remember the days of 1932 and 1933, the picket lines in '34 and '35, then '36 and '37, the great upsurge of organization which revitalized the labor movement in America. And then to see this as a climax of all those years is really an exciting occasion.

Late in November, 1937, a little and at the time a rather unpretentious musical show opened in what used to be the old Princess Theatre of this city. Those of us whose lives are wrapped up with the theater cannot forget that little review. It was destined to make history in the labor movement, as well as in the theater. In that New Deal year a group of garment workers got up from their machines, laid aside their shears, put down their pressing irons, and to everyone's surprise became actors with the aid of a group of talented sketch writers, composers and scenic designers. With that remarkable man, David Dubinsky, acting as a sort of Garment Workers Ziegfeld, they put their hopes into song, their joy into dance, their sophistication into satire, and made that little theater rock with songs of social significance.

Well, the rest is history. These garment workers sang and danced themselves into the heart of America all over America. The critics hailed the show. Ladies in mink shared standing room with operators from nearby garment shops. More than one million people throughout the country were to see that show.

In February of 1938 the boys and girls from the shops staged a command performance of "Pins and Needles" for President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House.

"Pins and Needles" showed the world that labor could laugh at itself as well as others. Its refreshing vigor and frankness was a new note on Broadway. It put labor's faith to music, in a way, and made audiences laugh while they learned. As one song put it, "It is better with a union man," or made its confusing point clear by spelling out the tactics common to both love and labor in a song entitled, "One Big Union For Two."

The charm and freshness of the songs and lyrics in this show came from a young man who is still making Broadway and the world sing his songs. He started with "Pins and Needles" and went on to become the successful composer and lyricist of "Wish You Were Here," "Fanny," which is now probably the big hit still, and the wonderful little review in which I was involved as a coproducer called, "Call Me Mister."

The songs of "Pins and Needles" have lost little of their original punch. A high point of that review was a number sung by Harry Clark, who is now appearing in "Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter."

And here again today with us is Harry Clark, who is going to repeat the show-stopping number from "Pins and Needles," which is called, "It's Better With A Union Man."—Harry Clark  
... Harry Clark sang "It's Better With A Union Man".

**MR. DOUGLAS:** Thank you very much. I don't think we will have much trouble in the future with organizing.

Harold Rome—a good union man himself—member of Local 802—can't help putting the world around him into his music. He was already humming the tune when Dave Dubinsky dropped the word to him last week that labor unity was worth singing about. The man who wrote the songs of social significance for "Pins and Needles" has now put the significance of the great events that have transpired in this hall into music and lyrics. It is a grand song, with a simple title "One Union". And here to sing it for you is that fine tenor, Jack Cassidy. This is its world premiere. It is hot off the griddle, just written last night.  
... Jack Cassidy sang "One Union".

**MR. DOUGLAS:** And now I think we should ask to come up here the man who wrote all of those songs and who has helped out the singers, the fellow who is really responsible for it, Harold Rome.

Mr. Rome rose and acknowledged the introduction.

**MR. DOUGLAS:** Thank you, Harold Rome, Florence Henderson, Jack Washburn, and Harry Clark.

As a member of almost all the Entertainment Unions, may I express my great and sincere pride in having been asked to come here today to help light-

en the load of these deliberations. I hope I speak for the 100,000 or more workers of our great entertainment industry, all of them members of the AFL-CIO, when I say that we wish you well in the great work through which you are shaping right here in this great hall a better and finer and brighter future for the coming generations of America.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Our sincere appreciation to Melvyn Douglas and Jack Cassidy, who just sang "One Union", to Harry Clark who sang for us "It's Better With a Union Man" and to Florence Henderson and Jack Washburn for their rendition of "One Big Union For Two" and also to Harold Rome who wrote the words and music to this song you just heard a moment ago.

... At this time Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was escorted to the speaker's platform.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Ladies and Gentlemen, to me this is the highlight of this Convention—the opportunity to present to you the No. 1 lady, the first lady of the entire world, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

### MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I feel very much at home with this Convention, because, as you know, I am a union member too. I belong to the American Newspaper Guild.

Something very nice happened to me as I was coming over. I found that on my reception committee was Miss Wray. I had not met Miss Wray for a long while and she reminded me that we had once walked a picket line together. It was a good many years ago, and I had almost forgotten it, but it gave me a nice and friendly feeling to remember that little incident, when Rose Schneiderman was educating me. She was teaching me about the needs of labor, particularly of women labor at that time, and she was a good teacher.

I am very happy to be here at this historic meeting when the two great labor groups in this country are coming together to join their forces. Some people have said that they were afraid of this merger. I want to tell you that I am very happy over this merger because I feel that it will give labor in this country more power to exert influence. It will be natural to tell you that not only will this strengthen you and achieve greater success in the interest of labor, but my feeling is that labor really today includes almost all American citizens, and therefore it is not only on your added power and influence that I would lay emphasis. I think I would like to say that the most important thing is that since you have this new power you will also accept greater responsibility as citizens and you will become a greater influence in American life, and your influence will be an influence for the well-being of all the people of our country. I hope it will also be an influence for

the well-being of all the people of the world.

These two things are what I wanted to talk to you about in the few minutes that we will have together. I feel that it is a good thing for all of us that what I take it represents the greater mass of intelligent people in our country should gain power. I think we have gone through a great change in this country, and as I go out into the world I think it is this change which has come about largely because of the growing strength of labor, which has given us strength as a nation. This change is not often noticed but it has come gradually.

There are fewer people today who are isolated way off at the top because they happen to be the very fortunate people, and cut off from many of the interests and the anxieties and the happinesses of the average people who work and play and feel a kinship with the great mass of the people of our country.

We also have a much smaller group at the other end, people who cannot say that they have the decencies of life.

Because I have lived a very long time, I can remember conditions when the labor movement was just beginning its struggle, and sometimes now I think that most of you have probably forgotten what it was like to be a labor leader in those early days. Sometimes it is hard to remember how much heroism went into actually having the force of labor organized in this country. Many of you have had your whole working lives in a period when conditions of labor and conditions of life were so much worse for large segments of the people that you perhaps would hardly recognize those conditions if somebody told you about them today.

In the days when Rose Schneiderman was educating me, which was a long while ago, I was taken into sweatshops. I was taken into places where little children worked at making flowers, artificial flowers of feathers—a number of things that you could do at home with little hands. I went into factories where conditions were very different from what you will find today. And I went into homes where conditions were very different. That segment of society in our country has grown decidedly smaller over these years.

What has greatly increased is this middle segment of our people who have a decent home, a chance to eat enough, to clothe their children well, to give their children an education, to work under decent conditions. That has come because of the rising strength of labor.

Now, you have different responsibilities. You have responsibilities because of your greater strength for conditions in our country as a whole. You have to be better educated than ever before. You have to recognize economic problems as a whole. You have to understand what the relationship is between the problems of your own country and the problems of the world, because our nation, because of its strength, has become a leader in the free world and therefore has taken on responsibilities for the peoples of the world.

You are going to have greater opportunities to send out young people to

help the peoples of other areas of the world. You, better than many people are going to understand what conditions are in areas of the world where life for the people is miserable.

I was interested in a little incident that happened to me the other day. I was driving in a taxicab, and the taxicab man said to me, "Mrs. Roosevelt, you believe that we ought to help people in other areas of the world live better, don't you?"

And I said, "Of course I do."

And he said, "Well, I had a guy who was very well dressed in this taxicab, and he told me that he didn't see why these other countries couldn't take care of their own troubles; what did we have to do something for India and Indonesia and Africa for? They could do for their people just the way we did for ourselves."

And he said, "I looked at him and said, 'I was in the Air Force during the war. Have you ever been in India?'"

And I said, "Did you serve in India?" He said, "Yes, I served in India and I served in North Africa, and I talked to people and I know they can't in those areas of the world do for their people unless we help."

Now, that is very interesting. But it pointed up what I believe, namely, that it is the people who through their efforts here in this country have helped to strengthen our nation by creating better conditions, by making life better for the mass of the people. It is those people who are going to understand that first, of course, we have to set our house in order. We cannot hold up to the world either standards of race equality or of equal opportunity or of better conditions of labor unless we have them.

We have to learn to live together, all of our people, as equal citizens. We have to learn not to look down on people because they have less opportunity, but to help them have more opportunity so that we can feel we are all equal as citizens in our country. That means that having done that we have a great responsibility to use all of our means to actually help the peoples of the world.

I have done a great deal of studying, not only of conditions here in our country but conditions in many parts of the world. There is much that I don't know. I wish I knew much more, because we need to learn. I do know this: We have managed to make great changes here at home and we have done it through the education of the mass of our people and through the leadership that came from among the people. We can have an influence in our Government if we will take the trouble.

I sometimes am a little grieved to find that among us living in a democracy where the people can control their government we sometimes do not take the trouble to be active enough in bringing about the conditions which we know should exist. That means we have to work to find out, very often. We have to be active to get the right candidates. We have to support them once they are in office and we have to know about the issues.

You can't be lazy in your mind if you are going to be a good citizen in a democracy. Your mind has to work and you need more education.

We need to watch our education, which is at a critical period today. There are lots of youngsters today who are not being fairly treated. In many cases there are youngsters who cannot go to school until noon. They don't get the most out of their education. They have used up much of their energy in the hours when they are not in school, and they will not do as well in school.

There is no reason why we cannot see to it that the policy of our Government, state and national, is fair to our children, that they do not come to a complicated world which requires greater understanding of the world without proper preparation.

I have watched our youngsters in different parts of the world, in the Army, in the Navy, in businesses, in government agencies, and sometimes I have been sad because they had not started with proper preparation. They must learn in primary school to think about people as people, not to assume that because my skin is white and your skin is yellow or black that you are not feeling as I feel or that you are not capable of development as I am capable. That has to begin with our education in primary school.

Then you have to learn about countries and customs and habits of people, and religion. We send our youngsters out often so badly prepared. Now we, the greatest number of people in organized labor, will have more power for good—also more power for evil—than we have ever had before. I believe it is going to be power for good.

I believe that we are going to understand the problems of the world as a whole. What we have been doing of late is to wait until some particular problem could no longer be ignored and then try to settle that problem. You can't do that today. You have to have a world picture all the time in your mind and try to make the pieces fit together to work toward the main stream of what you want done in the world.

We very often take a position at the top level. It is a position which is taken on one single idea and neglects many of the things that ought to come into the thinking. You and I believe that disarmament, for instance, is one of the things that we would like to see happen. We would like to see countries begin to disarm and put more strength into the United Nations, in the hope that eventually, as our habit of talking over and settling difficulties around the table grows to be a habit, we will not need to use force. That may take a very long time, but we should bear in mind that the central thing we want is an advance in disarmament. We should not, therefore, be frozen into a position of saying that one particular thing has to happen.

I will give you an example. We have said that we must re-arm Germany. I know the reasons why, just as you do. We want a buffer, a first line of defense, in case the Soviet Union ever wants to roll across Europe. So we have decided that Germany must be re-armed. The Soviets have said no unification of Germany until Germany agrees to be neutral. We apparently have never thought that possibly if we used this as a bargaining point for disarmament we might



move forward a step in disarmament. So that it is not so important whether Germany is armed or not, because everyone might know what is allowed to everybody else and Germany would just be allowed a certain amount, as would other states, but we might have achieved the beginning of disarmament both on one side of the Iron Curtain and on the other. This is just a suggestion of what I mean by thinking in wider terms, in broader areas, and not being frozen in positions.

Our people will have to begin to think in these terms, or at least be ready to listen to people who want to talk to them on these subjects and to listen intelligently, because unless our people tell their government representatives what they want to do, our government representatives are going to be afraid to try anything new for fear of what might happen to them if something they tried turned out to be wrong.

I am of the belief that it is better to acknowledge that you have made a wrong step and retrace that step and try something else than to do nothing most of the time.

I have come today to congratulate you—to congratulate you on achieving a difficult task. You will have difficulties and you will have problems, but you will work them out because your leaders have intelligence and a desire to work them out. This same thing can, I think, eventually come in the world. Perhaps you are pointing the way in the way you have gone about meeting your problems. I congratulate you and I wish you well.

I hope that the merger does mean more power for the people of the country, but I hope the people of the country who are the members of these great unions are going to be willing to do the work to get the education, to begin the understanding, both at home and abroad, that will mean that you are coming to a better power as a beacon light here at home and throughout the world. Actually you have started a great change which will bring about a better life to all of our people and a better life and greater hope—because many people will have to live on hope for some time to come—to all the peoples of the world.

God bless you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I am sure I express the opinion of all present when I say that this was the outstanding address of the Convention. Our thanks to a great lady, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

### Introduction of Miss Rose Schneiderman

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** This is Rose Schneiderman, a veteran worker in the trade union movement for women in all the shops and all the plants in this part of the world.

... Miss Schneiderman rose and acknowledged the introduction.

### Death of C. W. Burchfield

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I regret to announce the death of one of our delegates to this Convention early this morning.

Brother Charles Burchfield, the Assistant General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, passed away very early this morning of a heart attack.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** I call upon co-Secretary Soderstrom to resume the report of the Resolutions Committee.

### ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

The new merged labor movement faces a great and challenging task: organization of the unorganized. The spirit of labor unity equips us to do a more effective job.

We must bring the benefits and protection of unionism to millions of unorganized workers who need, deserve and must have them. The task will require our most vigorous efforts. It will require the rallying of the combined members and resources of the trade union movement as never before. We must dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the fulfilling of this great mission.

In recent years, there have been some notable gains in union organization and we properly hail them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas or new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. The great gains recorded in the 1930s and 1940s have not been matched during the past few years. Growth in total union membership has come primarily from economic expansion in establishments and industries already organized.

Frankness also compels the admission that too great a portion of organizing effort in the last ten years has been devoted to recruiting workers previously organized by others. Fortunately, this development has been substantially slowed down in the period since the no-raiding agreement has been in effect, and will, it is hoped, be entirely eliminated in the years ahead.

The approximately 17 million workers who are organized today represent only one out of every three wage and salary workers employed in the United States. Some of those now unorganized are in supervision or in other such activities as will probably keep them outside the union movement. There is no sound economic reason why the remaining great bulk of those now unorganized should not have the aid and protection which only unionism can afford them.

The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead must be at least the doubling of union membership. This is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help

these unorganized workers achieve unionization.

We cannot afford to be satisfied with past gains alone. The significant gains won by trade unions in the last 20 years are always threatened as long as large pockets of unorganized workers remain.

Beyond this, the ability of organized labor to play its full role in the life of the nation, to advance standards of living for all, is limited by the numbers for which it is able to speak. The necessary support to an expanding economy is not available when only a third of the labor force is represented in collective bargaining.

Low standards prevailing among most unorganized workers are a depressing influence on the national economy. Organization would raise their standards and improve their purchasing power, thereby contributing notably to sound economic growth for the nation.

We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unflinching determination, and full use of our resources.

A growing part of the American labor force is engaged in "white collar", service and distribution activities. These are areas in which many workers have never known the benefits of unions and of collective bargaining. Many workers in these and other areas are not familiar with and do not understand the role of trade unions.

A promising area for organization and an area in which there is much need for organization, is in state and local government service. Our unions of state, county, and municipal employees have made substantial progress in this difficult area in the face of laws restricting rights of public employees and discriminatory practices engaged in by some public officials. Much more can be done if the labor movement will put force behind campaign to remove barriers, to repeal restrictive laws and to correct anti-labor attitudes on the part of officials.

The message of democratic unionism must be brought to these workers to correct their lack of knowledge or lack of understanding. Successful organizing can be built among them on a foundation of concrete explanation and demonstration of the benefits of joining and supporting strong democratic trade unions.

There also remain substantial areas of the economy where organization has thus far been resisted, where employers actively have done their utmost to prevent organization. Although the size of this problem is greater in some areas and in some industries, it is present throughout the country and throughout the economy. A properly conducted organizing campaign can succeed despite the measures used to deprive workers of unionism in these areas.

A major obstacle to organization still exists in provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. One of the consequences of the Act has been the enactment in 18 states of the vicious and mislabeled "right-to-work" laws. While many employers still resort to old-fashioned clear-cut threats and intimidation to frighten their workers out of joining unions, most anti-union employers now rely on more subtle, sophisticated means, particularly paternalistic devices and specially prepared newspaper and community pressures, to prevent their workers from organizing real unions.

But American labor has known difficulties before. It has made its way despite anti-conspiracy legislation, anti-trust acts, so-called "American Plans", spies and goons. It has demonstrated its ability to preserve its strength in the face of Taft-Hartley.

It will not be daunted by the magnitude and hardships of the job of bringing unionism to unorganized American workers. It can and will meet the responsibility of organizing the unorganized; now therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby dedicate themselves, and will provide their fullest and most vigorous support, to an expanded organizing program equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization. We shall do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM**: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: You have heard the report of the Committee on Organizing the Unorganized. The motion is to adopt the report. The Chair recognizes Vice President Reuther.

**VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER**: Brother Chairman and delegates: I rise to support the resolution dealing with the organization of the unorganized. I would like your attention because I believe that this is perhaps one of the most important resolutions that will come before this Convention.

Now, we have made a wonderful beginning in this Convention, and what we have done here is important; but what we do after we leave here is much more important than what we will have done here. You and I who make up the leadership of this great labor movement have the joint responsibility of taking these resolutions which we have adopted by unanimous action back home and breathing life into them and be giving them meaning and purpose and substance in the practical job of building a better labor movement. That is what this resolution deals with; it deals with how do you take the noble words and put them to work.

I personally believe that we have put this labor movement together, not for the convenience and the comfort of the leadership. We have not achieved labor unity based upon stagnation. We have achieved labor unity to provide new, dynamic forces out of which we can build a bigger, stronger labor movement.

The organization of millions of unorganized workers is the key to the question of economic justice, of a full measure of the good things of life for millions of workers who yet are denied the benefits and protection of belonging to a union. This matter of organizing the unorganized is not just a matter of economic justice for the wage earner and for his loved ones. It is a matter of economic necessity, because we cannot achieve the kind of expanding economy we need unless the organized labor movement organizes the millions of unorganized who at present enjoy second class economic citizenship, and make these workers into first class economic citizens so that they can buy the things that a living wage makes possible to buy.

And thirdly, you can talk all you want about raising the levels of political morality, about the people who come from certain Southern sections of our country. I say to you, you will not raise the political level of morality and get better people in government from those areas until you first build strong unions in the Southern states of these United States.

You call the roll in Washington and you will find where a Congressman or a Senator stands on the right side on education, housing, civil rights—on every other basic thing—and you will find that the intelligence and the morality of the Congressman and the Senator in many cases reflect the degree of organization in the states from which they come, because a strong labor movement is the first step in building political consciousness, and out of that political consciousness can come men in public life with character, with conviction and courage and with morality.

Now, there is much work to be done. Let us all understand—I don't care where you come from, I don't care what your union's jurisdiction is, I don't care whether you are industrial or craft in character—I say there is enough work to keep us all busy for many years to come if we work together in America.

Look at the great chemical industry—one of the wealthiest, most powerful industries in America—less than 20 per cent of the workers organized. Let's take on the chemical industry, and let's say to duPont, as we said to General Motors and other corporations, You are in line and we are going to organize the workers in these plants.

Textile workers have to pay first-class prices for the things they buy as consumers but are paid second-class wages as economic citizens—and the textile industry organized in the North runs away. It gets free plants in areas where the political forces are lined up with states' right laws to block organization. Let's take on the textile industry and let's say to the textile industry, "If you try to run away from organization we will be waiting when you get there to organize the workers in new plants."

There is work in the paper industry, there are teachers in America to be organized, and thousands and thousands of white collar workers in the offices, in the distribution trades. Yes, there are thousands and thousands of building trades

workers to be organized in the respective craft unions. Just check in America and see how many factories go up in America, how many buildings go up that are built by non-union building trades workers. I see the opportunity is here, and the challenge is, is there the wisdom, is there the capacity to lead so that we can rise above the things that block organization and unite in this practical task?

I say it can be done. I have unlimited faith in the ability of our united movement to move forward and to organize the unorganized. But to do that we need to get in motion powerful, dynamic forces that will find expression in the kind of an organizational crusade such as this country has never seen.

Mrs. Roosevelt talked about the early sweatshops, the early struggles of the labor leaders. I grew up in a trade union family. My father at 23 years of age was the president of the Central Labor Body in my home town, and he used to tell me stories of these struggles in West Virginia in the coal mines. I say, compared to the obstacles they had in those days, there is nothing in our way if we put our minds and our hearts to this task.

We need to draw inspiration out of the struggle of the people who came before us, of Sam Gompers and the people in his period, and find a way to give expression to the same kind of spiritual dedication in building in terms of the future.

There are two things that I would like to point out. I ask you, and I ask you, Brother, why it is in the American labor movement that where somebody can find an opportunity to steal a handful of members from some other union they will spend tens of thousands of dollars in a raid, and yet they won't spend that same amount of money organizing the unorganized workers in some basic industry?

I say to you in all good conscience no one in the leadership of this great and united labor movement ought to be tolerated in being permitted to use the organizational funds of their union in this destructive kind of trade union cannibalism of trying to eat up the little fellow who can't protect himself.

And one other ugly little aspect of this problem of raiding. It has made me sick deep in my heart when I have been approached by the officers of some little union struggling against a reactionary employer, marching the picket line in support of the demands of the workers, and to see some union move in when workers were on strike and raid that union on strike. I say if that happens between now and the next Convention any union guilty ought to be read out of this united labor movement. I say that when workers are on strike they are entitled morally and organizationally to the support of every union.

Then there is this practical question: How did the big unions get to be big? Did they just suddenly flower on a bright June morning, or were they helped in their struggles? Look back over the history of organized labor. Take the Automobile Workers and the Steelworkers and other great unions. Who built these unions? Who provided the resources and the organizational funds and the manpower? Workers, not unions. They assessed themselves. They dug deeply into

their pockets, and there were no surplus dollars in those pockets in those dark, hard days. But they dug deep and they came up with the money, not to build power for themselves, not to promote private labor empires, but to extend the hand of help in the building of unions in the United States in industries that were unorganized.

And I say we need to set some new standards. How do you measure the success or the contribution of a trade union? Do you find out whether they own half of Manhattan's biggest banks? That is not how you measure the success or the worth of a trade union. Let us measure the greatness of a trade union, let us measure its contribution by its willingness to help other unions build their membership in the days ahead. And if we will do that, we can make great progress.

The Auto Workers had a Convention some months back. We were preparing for our historic struggle against the giant automotive corporation on the guaranteed annual wage, and we spent two days talking about how we could raise twenty-five million dollars as a strike fund to back up the workers if they had to hit the picket line. We had the pleasure of having our good friend George Meany come to that Convention. There were 3,500 rank and file delegates. After George Meany spoke, we adopted a resolution on labor unity. It was adopted by the unanimous action of those 3,500 delegates.

Then we had another resolution. We said, we want to make our contribution in the building of a united labor movement, in giving that united labor movement meaning and purpose in terms of the practical struggle, in terms of the every day job of building a stronger union. And those 3,500 delegates, I am happy to report to this Convention, without one dissenting vote voted to tax themselves one dollar out of their union treasury, not an increase in their payment, but to take out of their union treasury one and a half million dollars that we are placing at the disposal of the new movement to help the little unions become big unions in America.

When we use the term "brotherhood", when we talk about trade union solidarity, we need to back up those noble words with the tools with which people can build. And I am happy to be able to report, and our task is not yet finished, that the unions that formerly were affiliated with the CIO are able to report to this Convention that those unions—and more will come—are pledging as we leave this convention four million dollars to the organizing campaign to help organizing workers all over America.

Now the question is, are the workers ready? Millions of workers in America are waiting; they are waiting for you and me. I say this is the greatest opportunity that we have ever had. This is the opportunity to demonstrate that labor unity is not just a pious slogan, and that we can apply that slogan to the practical task of working out the practical problems in carrying forth an organizational drive in every phase of America, in terms of every kind of union, both industrial and craft. We

can do a job. We are capable of that job. We have the resources and the tools. Let us demonstrate that we have the common dedication and the common will, and let us go forward with our banners high, confident that between now and the next Convention we can organize millions of unorganized workers into unions; we can build our movement more powerful; we can make a great contribution to elevating the living standards, giving millions of American families a living wage and their share of good things of life; we can make an increasing contribution, in that economic well-being and the hope of our country by providing greater purchasing power by higher wages.

It is a great challenge, and just as Franklin Roosevelt said in the dark days when he took office, he said, "We have just begun to fight." I say to you, let us go forward and have on our banner the slogan, "we have just begun to march; we have just begun to build". We can do it. Let's go out and do it today and show the world we mean what we say when we talk about labor unity.

Thank you.

DELEGATE ROWE, Augusta Central Labor Union: Some of the things that Brother Reuther has just talked about, I certainly want to join in wholeheartedly. We want to welcome the merger, and we are looking forward to great things by the merger.

Before I finish talking you might have decided that I have joined the Republican party, but I have not. I have never voted anything but the Democratic ticket in my life. Some of the reasons for that is that I have never had the opportunity of voting anything else where it meant anything.

Before I finish I think you are going to find, if you pay attention to what I have to say, and I do have a few things to say, that I might be encouraging the two-party system in some parts of the South along with what you are talking about, so that you might be able to give us Southerners an opportunity to vote for a man instead of a party where the party label doesn't mean anything.

To us in the South, and around in these eighteen states that have these right-to-work bills, I want you to know that fifteen of them have Democratic governors. And I want you to know that it isn't the Republicans altogether that are giving us hell in the South. It is these Democrats. We are having to fight each other down there. They call themselves Democrats. And I want to say that this Democratic Party label, if it has any objectives, or has any policy of liberalism towards the workers of this country, that they notify the candidates for governor, they notify these candidates for Congress, and they notify the candidates for the Senate and the Legislature and the mayors, that if they are going to use that label they must carry out their policy or pick one of the parties that will allow them to carry out the policy that they will live up to when elected to office.

I would like to mention one or two things to you that I have in mind. For instance, it has been the policy of this

country as stated time and time again and restated again, that on the back of the first amendment to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of this country it says you will have the right to petition, you will have the right to free assemblage and free speech, and many of those statements and policies have been restated time and time again over this country and even in the Taft-Hartley Act itself, if you please, the right to belong to a labor union is granted. And your employment shall not be denied because of membership or non-membership in a labor union.

Before I finish talking you will probably find that I am a member of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union, but I am not here representing them, I am here representing the Central Labor Union as a delegate from Augusta.

The thing I want to bring out to you is this: all these various right-to-work laws themselves, that policy of employment shall not be denied because of non-membership into a labor union is even in all these states right-to-work laws, yet we find states themselves adopting laws and regulations that are contrary to the policies of this country, contrary to our own policies of their own states, and denying the employees, their own employees, the right to belong to any labor union.

I cite to you the State of Alabama that has a state law prohibiting any state employee from belonging to any labor union, and yet there is a man down there that was elected on the Democratic ticket as Democratic governor, with a Democratic House and Democratic State Senate that passed those laws. What does it mean? Well, fellows, I am appealing to you to ask the heads of the Democratic Party of this country to declare a policy for better labor, and whenever they write that into those tickets ask them to let it mean something.

I want to point out to you again that this is the first time I ever talked to this many people. The fellow telling about the cats having the party this morning reminded me of just how scared I am up here.

Before I go on, a fellow went up to the spring to get some water the other day and he came running back and he was so scared he was shaking. I asked him what was the trouble. He said an alligator was there. I said, "Well, the alligator has been there all the time and he ain't going to bother you." He said, "Yes, but that alligator is there." I said, "Go on back and get the water. The alligator isn't going to hurt you." He said, "No, sir." I said, "Go ahead, the alligator is just as scared of you as you are of him." He said, "Well, if he is, that water ain't fit to drink now."

We talk about the two-party system in the South. I want to point out to you that there are certain sections of the South that went Republican in the last Presidential election.

The State of Tennessee went for the Republican ticket. The State of Texas, I believe, did also. South Carolina had a very close call. I don't remember whether they finally went into the Republican colony or not. Also a Senator went in on the Republican ticket

against the recommendations of the Democratic Party in South Carolina. It was a right-hand ticket. In one section of Florida we had a Republican Congressman elected from one section of Florida, and I think probably he has made a good record. I know he couldn't have been any worse than that Democrat we had there.

I want to say this in all fairness and all seriousness, and ask that you folks join with us in trying to condemn these policies of public officials. You know, we have been reading statements about the law requiring oaths of the government employees in Civil Service tests. I think we should ask that they provide a loyalty oath for officials who would be elected on any ticket in this country and who are going to be administering the police powers and the state and county governments in this country, so that we can find out what their attitudes are about their own employees and their right to do things in declaring the policies of this country.

For instance, in the city of Dallas, Texas, a large city in Texas, there is a city ordinance prohibiting any employee from belonging to any labor union. Recently we started organizing a little city group down in Greenville, South Carolina, and they called an emergency meeting of the city officials there and passed an ordinance prohibiting any city employee from belonging to any labor union. They were very liberal there, because they gave them 72 hours to come up and sign an affidavit that they did not belong and that they never would join a labor union as long as they worked for the City of Greenville.

The firemen organized and applied for a charter in Norfolk, Virginia. As soon as the officials found out about it they called a meeting of the officials there and passed a city ordinance that all firemen were required to sign, stating that they did not belong to a union and never would join one.

You say that is not according to state law. Well, that is what the State Supreme Court said about it. They said they had a right to do it. The State Supreme Courts in many other cases say they have a right to do these things. These people all run on Democratic tickets and are elected on Democratic tickets. I will ask you to join with us in trying to get some meaning to the platform that they are going to run on.

Since this organization has been chartered in 1936 we have been responsible for many groups being covered by Civil Service or some form of job security. Then the officials appoint the administrators of that Civil Service program. We go in and try to talk to them rabid and anti-union. For them to do that is the same as a union getting a contract in an industry and then the members electing an anti-union business agent to administer the contract. Those are some of the things I wanted to bring to you.

I see the President of the great State of North Carolina Federation here looking at me. In the great State of North Carolina, where we have a supposedly very liberal union administration there, you can imagine that they are looked upon as great leaders, because you have



two or three of them who have been appointed recently in high positions of this Government by the State Department to administer and sell democracy all over the world. Yet you find that where they came from they were helpful in passing a resolution prohibiting any employee from being a member of labor unions and prohibiting them from being represented by labor unions.

We find also a large state out West, with 70,000 employees, and less than 10,000 employees belonging to any labor union. Yet that state is looked upon as a very liberally administered state. When did organized labor ever get to where it would recognize a company union or an association of employees in lieu of a labor union?

I want to ask the incoming officers and the Executive Board of this merged labor movement here in this country to join with us in helping to get over these walls and get to those unorganized public employees, especially.

Recently in Memphis, Tennessee—I hate to call names, but I can't help it—7,300 employees worked for the city. Less than 200 of them belonged to any labor union. Yet when I have been in there I found that some of the business agents were trying to entertain me and steering me around the officials so I could not get in to see them. They say, "Why, he is working a few of our members; he is all right with us; but they are putting up that wall to keep us from getting to those more than 7,000 city employees working for that city. I don't think it is right and I don't think you approve of it. I think you want to join with us in helping" to organize those unorganized people.

I certainly appreciate the fine talk that Mr. Reuther just made, and I hope he means every word of it. If he ever comes down South and I am still able to be around there, I will certainly make my services available to him.

I appreciate this opportunity and I hope, as I started to say, that we will have a great deal of publicity and as much interest shown in those anti-labor state laws. For instance, the state law of Alabama prohibits those thousands of state employees from belonging to any labor union, such as the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Miami Beach. I believe that Governor Folsom will repeal that law in Alabama. Thank you very much.

The motion to adopt the resolution on Organizing the Unorganized was carried unanimously.

### ORGANIZING FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Organizing Fund Raising Committee, as follows:

This founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations should properly consider our weakness as well as our strength.

We are properly proud of the achievement that brings together under a single banner more than 15 million organized workers. But even in this hour of triumph we must give thought to the 30 million

industrial workers, all of whom come within the jurisdiction of our member unions, who as yet do not enjoy their legal and moral right to organize and bargain collectively.

The organization of these workers must and will be a primary concern of the great new federation that has been formed here.

We recognize that the task is not an easy one. Legal and illegal obstacles, many of them formidable, stand in the way of workers who seek to exercise the rights supposedly granted them by federal statute. The inadequate safeguards of the Wagner Act were largely nullified by the Taft-Hartley law which supplanted it, and have been wiped out almost entirely by those who presently are charged with administering and interpreting the law.

But these handicaps cannot be removed by complaining about them. They must be surmounted; for while they remain, the unorganized workers and the communities in which they live will suffer economic discrimination, to the peril of our national prosperity.

Nor is this an economic problem alone. The unorganized worker cannot assure himself of his full rights as an individual or his full equality as a free citizen. The liberty he enjoys outside his job vanishes the moment he enters his place of employment. If Americans are to enjoy the fruits of democracy 24 hours a day, they must have democracy on the job.

There is a general recognition among our members of the importance of this task. Already a number of international unions representing substantial membership have indicated their willingness to contribute voluntarily substantial sums of money so that the AFL-CIO organizing effort can be adequately financed.

Therefore this founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations instructs the president of our organization to appoint a committee, chosen from among the top officers of affiliated unions, to be known as the Organizing Fund Raising Committee.

And we call upon all organizations within the AFL-CIO to contribute to this fund and to devote to this vital objective their unstinting efforts, for the greater good of our member unions, the workers and the nation.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and the resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

### STATEMENT OF PRESS REPRESENTATIVES

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time the Chair recognizes Brother Abe Raskin, representing the press at this Convention, for a short statement.

MR. RASKIN: Thank you, President Meany. If I had realized that George was going to give me the microphone, I would have written this statement in the form of a New York Times story using 217,000 words. Unfortunately, I did not realize that, so my story is very short.



The merger of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was the biggest news story in labor history. We the members of the working press, wish to express our grateful appreciation to the AFL-CIO press and publicity staffs for their tireless efforts to assist us in getting that story to the public promptly, accurately and fully.

A. H. RASKIN

New York Times

ED TOWNSEND

Business Week

ASHER LAUREN

The Detroit News

FELIX COTTON

I.N.S.

JOE GAMBATESE

Nation's Business

NORMAN WALKER

Associated Press

JAMES DEVLIN

Associated Press

HOWARD NORTON

Baltimore Sun

MICHAEL LEVITAS

New York Post

JIM DOMBROW

USIA-IPS

STEVE CAPAN

Telenews

ROBERT LEWIN

Chicago Daily News

NORMAN C. MCKENNA

USIA-IPS

HARRY TOLAND

Philadelphia Bulletin

CHARLES J. HARDING

Engineering News-Record

AMEEL J. FISHER

U. P. Movietone News

STANLEY LEVEY

New York Times

JACK WOLISTON

United Press

ROBERT BEDOLIS

NY Herald-Tribune

FRED PERKINS

Scripps-Howard

ARTHUR RIORDAN

IUE News

RALPH KATZ

New York Times

ANGUS DEMING

Wall Street Journal

ASA A. ATWATER

Pittsburgh Press

GEORGE MORRIS

Daily Worker

HARRY BERNSTEIN

Los Angeles Examiner

IRVING VOGEL

Jewish Daily Forward

WALTER KIRSCHENBAUM

Labor Reports (J. L. C.)

J. C. RICH

Jewish Daily Forward

JOHN D. POMFRET

The Milwaukee Journal

JOHN HERLING

Editors Syndicate and Herling's

Labor Letter

JOSEPH LOFTUS

New York Times

MURRAY KEMPTON

New York Post

FRED WOLTMAN

NY World-Telegram & Sun

JOSEPH ALVAREZ

NY World-Telegram & Sun

JAMES O'CONNOR

New York Mirror

JAMES BARSTOW, Jr.

NY Herald-Tribune

JACK TURCOTT

NY Daily News

ARTHUR MULLIGAN

NY Daily News

HAROLD HUTCHINGS

Chicago Tribune

SPENCER McCULLOCH

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

RONALD HAGGART

Toronto Globe & Mail

SANFORD E. STANTON

NY Journal-American

CHARLES H. ALLARD

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

JAN LORENC

Radio Free Europe

NELSON FRANK

Frank Publications

JOSEPH P. MURPHY

Associated Press

MIRIAM GOLDFINE

Daily Mirror

VICTOR RIESEL

Daily Mirror

PRESIDENT MEANY: I appreciate

the sentiments of the press as presented

by Abe Raskin of the working press.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (resumed)

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran for a continuance of the Committee's report.

## UNION LABEL

... Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the following resolution:

The power of the worker's dollar has become one of organized labor's strongest answers to the great challenges to our security. Chief among these challenges are the millions of unorganized workers in every industry, whose low wages endanger the union conditions we have fought so hard to win. In recent years, runaway shops have become an increasing threat to union standards in several industries, and growing monopoly, federal and state anti-labor laws and unfriendly governments hinder organization of the unorganized.

Union members themselves, with the strength of a united organization behind them, must meet these challenges and overcome these threats to their hard-won working and living conditions.

One of the most potent tools available is the union label, shop card and button which channel labor's buying power to protect union standards.

The union member and the enlightened consumer has learned that a union label on a product and a union shop card for a service is a guarantee of good quality and decent working conditions. By insisting on union-made products, the union member can help protect his own working conditions, as well as those of union members in other industries, from the unfair competition of low-wage, sweat-shop manufacturers who seek to swell their profits by exploiting their workers.

At the same time, consumers generally have realized that the higher standard of living achieved by organized labor and symbolized by the union

label benefits the entire community. For the community, the union label means an increased purchasing power, higher quality production, and better business for everyone; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED.** We view the union label, the union shop card, and the union button as important weapons in labor's arsenal, which must be continually and vigorously promoted as widely as possible.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move the adoption of this resolution.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** You have heard the report on Union Label. Is there discussion? The Chair recognizes Brother Blackburn of the Lithographers Union.

**DELEGATE BLACKBURN, President Amalgamated Lithographers:** President Meany, delegates to the Convention, my name is Blackburn of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America established in 1782.

All of us know that the union label is not a new story in the American labor movement. There are some unions in this hall which have been using a label or shop card since the last century, and the AFL has had a Union Label Trades Department for many years.

But I would like to spend a minute or two in giving this old union label story a new twist. It was only six years ago that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers initiated its present union label campaign, and in those six years they have given the union label a new status in the labor movement. For the clothing workers, the union label was not an advertising gimmick or a publicity stunt. Instead, they forged the union label into a strong right arm of organization.

As a sister union of the clothing workers, and as a union which has an equal interest in the union label, I would like to pay tribute to the pioneering work they have done these past six years.

And I would like to say that never in our history is there a greater need for union label education, or a greater opportunity for success. Today any union organizing new workers is faced with greater obstacles than ever before. You all know what they are—the Taft-Hartley Law and its state-spawned imitators, the so-called right-to-work laws; the problem of runaway shops; growing monopoly control in certain industries and the development of companies which are economically powerful enough to shut down factories and shops and open elsewhere merely to avoid unionization of its workers. These problems face every union in this hall. Every union in this hall, therefore, has a rightful interest in any tool which will help overcome them.

Our basic strength, as union members, is the strength we exercise over the bargaining table. Collective bargaining, backed up by the strike when necessary, has been the source of most of our gains in the past and undoubtedly will continue to be so for many years.

Our second source of strength—and this is more recent in development—is our strength as voters at the polls. We have all come to recognize that some gains can only be protected, and others

won, through political and legislative action in Congress and in state legislatures.

Now I would like to propose that we recognize that labor has a third source of strength—our strength as consumers, expressed in the retail store. And it is this strength which may well be the vital factor in the days ahead.

Organized labor today represents about a quarter of the total population. In addition, the mass of workers live and work in the great industrial centers of our nation, and in many large cities union members represent a large proportion of the total population.

By using the force of their numbers as consumers, just as they have already done as workers in the shop and as voters at the polls, union members can exert a powerful force.

We have seen it happen already. The clothing workers have proved the effectiveness of consumer action, and so have many other unions. Now the two houses of labor are one, and now is the time to promote consumer action by organized labor on a greater scale than ever before.

We the Amalgamated Lithographers have accepted the new spirit of unity in The House of Labor.

We have applied to the Allied Printing Trades Council for the right to participate with them in the support of a union label which will represent all printing trades unions.

We endorse earlier remarks made this week in Convention:—There shall be one union label, a label which represents good wages, good working conditions and fair standards, a union label in which the consumer will have the highest confidence.

The motion to adopt the resolution on Union Label was seconded and carried unanimously.

### Suit Drawing

At this time the drawing was made for the suit of clothes donated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Mr. J. A. Tools was the winner.

## REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (resumed)

Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### MERCHANT MARINE

At a time when the entire economy of the United States is expanding and the commitments of our nation abroad, both economic and military are increasing, the United States merchant marine stands as a paradox: its ships are overage and unsuited for today's international competition; it is totally incapable of supplying a war of even the Korea size; it is constantly shrinking in size as more and more of its numbers are transferred to nations offering substandard wages and low taxes; it is under attack at home by various partisan interests and it is without a policy for correcting this downward slide.

Maritime unions are aware of this situation and despite these many handicaps of the industry, have managed to build

strong, vigorous, democratic unions and have consistently negotiated contracts which provide for our members excellent working conditions, wages and fringe benefits.

Nonetheless, maritime unions see a host of problems that affect every seagoing or waterfront worker. These conditions present clear dangers to all and could conceivably lead to a weakening of the rights and benefits now enjoyed by our members; now, therefore, be it

#### RESOLVED:

**St Lawrence Seaway:** The threat to the American and Canadian seamen is also being felt on the Great Lakes. We deem it imperative that before the St. Lawrence Seaway opens legislation be undertaken to ban Canadian coastal and U. S.-Canada lake ports trade to foreign flag vessels. This is customary in almost all maritime nations. It is also imperative that the pilots taking over on ships entering or leaving the St. Lawrence Seaway be either nationals of Canada or the United States, a practice adhered to in virtually every world port. Further, we urge a change in the status of British ships so they will be classed as British vessels instead of Canadian vessels as they are at present.

**Anti-Union Legislation:** The host of anti-labor legislation on the city, state and national level, such as the "right to work" legislation and the recent Congressional proposal which would have in effect frozen the wages of seamen and required compulsory arbitration, are all restrictive moves aimed at weakening and destroying the labor movement in the Maritime Industry. Therefore, we urge a vigorous campaign on the national and local levels to protect the rights of union members in all industries against a regulated and regimented labor movement in America.

**"50-50" Law:** The maintenance of the cargo preference or "50-50" Law is a basic necessity to U. S. shipping, even though the maritime industry felt that it would be fair and proper to insist upon 100 per cent. Without the law requiring that half of the U. S. Government-generated cargoes be carried on U. S. flag ships, hundreds of ships would have to be idled and thousands of seamen laid off. An alliance of foreign shipowners, along with the U. S. State and Agricultural Departments, has conducted a continuing campaign to cripple the law. We therefore urge that the "50-50" Law be made permanent and irrevocable, and diligently enforced.

**Marine Hospitals:** The Marine Hospital Program for seamen is of vital importance to an industry that ranks third in accidents and whose personnel are constantly exposed to pestilence and disease peculiar to the ports throughout the world at which they must call. We urge that sufficient annual appropriations be forthcoming to maintain the marine hospitals and that an end be put to the constant threat of decreasing medical facilities for seamen.

**Hiring Halls:** The practice in use in Maritime Hiring Halls as in other industries where men must change jobs frequently is the best method to insure fair and equitable distribution of work and at the same time guard against abuses, such as the shape-up. The

maritime unions have been built around the hiring hall and have fought countless struggles to maintain it; therefore, we urge that federal legislation be undertaken at once to guarantee that the hiring hall be recognized as the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been in accepted practice.

**Coastal and Intercoastal Trades:** Coastal and intercoastal shipping have declined substantially over the past years and seamen have suffered a consequent loss in employment opportunities. We urge all-out effort to promote a revival of these vital trades, and that the Maritime Administration encourage new methods of operation, such as "roll-on, roll-off" operations, to give impetus to this revival. We urge further that the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 be amended to provide construction subsidies as an inducement to new companies to enter these services. We believe, too, that inducements could be offered in the form of relief on Panama Canal tolls for U. S. shipping.

**Foreign-Flag Transfers:** Within the past year, over 100 U. S.-flag ships have been transferred to foreign registry by their American owners in order to avoid U. S. wages and taxes. The Government allowed these transfers and is still allowing American-built and paid-for ships to go under flags where they immediately drive U. S.-flag ships from the seas. In addition, U. S. owners are also chartering foreign-flag ships for use in trade to the United States and Canada thereby causing American seamen to lose jobs. We urge that the government immediately stop approval of any further transfers and that legislation be undertaken to halt the practice of American interests using foreign-flag ships in competition against U. S.-flag vessels.

**Government Training Program:** As a civilian industry we are unequivocally opposed to the government training of personnel to turn loose on a saturated industry already suffering from heavy unemployment. The maritime industry has ample provision within the industry for upgrading men from the lowest rating to master without the necessity for maintaining a million dollar a year government apparatus. At the moment, there are licensed officers who have been awaiting berths for over two years, yet the federal subsidized schools continue to turn out men by the hundreds. Therefore, we urge the immediate closing of government schools.

**International Labor Organization:** As participants over the years in the conventions of the International Labor Organization, we recognize the constructive work which this body can and does perform in the interests of workers throughout the world, even though American standards are seldom affected. We urge endorsement of the ILO maritime conventions that have been approved by the labor designated representatives of the United States to conferences of the International Labor Organization.

**Military Sea Transport Service:** Direct and indirect government competition with private enterprise is a generally frowned-upon practice. The operation of vessels by the Military Sea Transport

Service in competition with privately-owned vessels is harmful to the interests of organized seafaring men, as well as those manning the government ships. We, therefore, urge elimination of the government from competition with private shipping.

**Protection of Seamen's Legal Rights:** On the Federal Statute Books are numerous maritime laws that work to protect American seamen and have functioned well over the years to provide basic protection of seaman's rights. Attempts have been made to propose "streamlining" of these laws by government bureaus, insurance companies and shipowners, which would undoubtedly result in the reduction of a sizable number of the rights seamen now enjoy by law. Therefore, we urge that all steps be taken to vigorously enforce all United States laws enacted to protect the rights of seamen.

**Ship's Radio:** There have been moves recently within the industry to replace ship's radio telegraphy with the radio telephone. Aboard a ship at sea, radio telegraphy is its only contact with the outside world and it is vital that the method of communication be the best and without failure to protect the lives of the crewmen aboard. We urge that all steps be taken to safeguard the essential and vital radio operator aboard ship under the U.S. flag.

**Unemployment Insurance:** The unemployment insurance benefit programs in practice in the states of California and New York as relate to seamen are examples of state action that should be adopted elsewhere. We urge action by the state labor bodies toward raising their state benefit level and toward improving the administration of their programs to obtain fair treatment for all seamen.

**Seamen's Charity and Private Welfare Groups:** American seamen enjoy the highest maritime wages in the world and through their unions have first-class protection against the enemies of seamen both home and abroad. It has been the practice of some charity groups and private welfare agencies to picture to the rest of the labor movement seamen as badly in need of care and aid, both here and in foreign ports, thus soliciting funds from the labor movement as a whole. Inasmuch as the American seaman has full and adequate protection through his contract benefits and his union, he is not in need of outside charity; therefore, we urge that the entire labor movement co-operate toward eliminating these so-called seaman's charities which have come to exist solely as bureaucracies for their officers and employees. This was also the recent position taken by Seafarers Section, including the American delegates, of the International Transport Workers Federation, affiliated with the ICFU.

**Coast Guard:** Attempts to further restrict and control the American seamen through Federal legislation have been put forth by the United States Coast Guard, which during World War II secured and retained the power to certify and issue documents to seamen, hold trials, suspend a man's right to work and carry out a security screening program. The current attempt at restricting seamen's rights is a so-called prefiling system to black-

ball from the industry on phony physical and psychological grounds men it wishes to remove from ships. No civilian industry is under the military control that must be endured by the seamen. Therefore, issuance of seamen's documents, licenses, the U.S. Shipping Commissioner, the Marine Inspection Service, and the administration of U.S. Government in Maritime matters be returned to the Department of Commerce, from which it was taken.

**Subsidies:** The entire question of subsidies for the nation's merchant marine is referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The experience of the seamen's unions indicates that the fight to prevent restriction of their inherent rights as trade unionists must be a constant one. This is a fight that must be waged in concert with all unions and to this end we ask all affiliates of the AFL-CIO to join in combatting attempts at restrictive government controls and in the elimination of those already in existence.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

### SHIPBUILDING

While shipyards are booming in all of the other important shipbuilding countries of the world, the trend in the U. S. has continued downward during the past year. The American shipbuilding industry, vitally essential to the defense of the nation, is in a greatly depressed condition with a large number of highly skilled workers unemployed.

Figures just released by the Maritime Administration indicate that during the twelve months ending with June, 1955 deliveries of ocean-going vessels of 1,000 gross tons or over by the shipyards of the world totaled 594 vessels with a gross tonnage of close to four and three quarter millions.

New construction on hand or contracted for on July 1, 1955, which is the last date on which world comparisons are available, discloses an estimated total of 1,437 vessels of all types (1,000 gross tons and over) under construction or on order in the principal shipbuilding countries of the world on that date, totaling almost 12,600,000 gross tons.

Our yards held only 1.7 percent of this total tonnage, on 14 vessels (3 cargo and 11 tankers) to put us in 10th place behind Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy (excluding Trieste), Norway and Denmark.

The latest available employment figures also show a decline in the total employment in private United States shipbuilding and repair yards during the past year. On July 1, 1954 the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed employment in all private shipyards at 106,300. By July 1, 1955, the Bureau's figure had dropped to 101,700.

Reliable estimates indicate that a minimum of 150,000 employees equitably distributed on all coasts, constitutes the minimum employment necessary for maintaining this industry ready for any national emergency.

Does this currently depressed condition of our shipbuilding industry, while yards in other major shipbuilding countries are booming, mean that United States companies are not ordering new ships? Far from it.

A large portion of the shipbuilding work stacked up in foreign yards has been placed there by United States companies and their foreign affiliates.

The latest comprehensive survey of foreign yard orders for American and affiliated companies reveals some startling facts.

The great volume of new shipbuilding orders placed in foreign yards by American companies and their affiliates began in 1949 and now far exceeds the total orders placed in United States yards since World War II.

More than 300 vessels, most of them large oceangoing tankers, bulk carriers and freighters, have been ordered from foreign yards by United States companies and their affiliates since the end of the war. These vessels total over 6 million deadweight tons. A large portion of this staggering total is still under construction or on order.

What is the current picture? As of June 30, 1955, United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 62 vessels totaling 1,278,172 gross tons. These vessels include 41 tankers (720-272 GT), 18 ore carriers (438,400 GT) and 3 dry cargo vessels (19,500 GT). These figures were just released by the Maritime Administration.

As of the same date, according to Shipbuilders' Council figures of United States yard construction, U. S. companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in United States yards only 8 vessels totaling 128,600 gross tons. These included 7 tankers (124,860 GT) and one ore carrier (3,800 GT).

Why has this tremendous volume of ship construction by American firms and their affiliates gone foreign since the war?

The answer lies principally in the large cost advantages gained both by foreign construction and foreign flag operation.

This difference in construction costs is partially due to the far lower wage rates and the less favorable working conditions which prevail in foreign yards, to lower material costs, and to the subsidies and tax advantages which some of the foreign governments have granted to encourage the growth of their shipbuilding industry.

Thus, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those in foreign lands, the end product costs more.

Our American shipbuilding worker is entitled to keep pace with other American workers and to enjoy an American standard of living. This is recognized under existing legislation which makes it possible for a United States company to apply for and obtain approval for a construction subsidy under which the United States Government will pay that portion of U. S. construction cost which exceeds the foreign construction cost. However, it

is necessary for the company to comply with numerous regulations of the Maritime Administration, and it has no assurance that the subsidy portion of its construction cost will materialize as it must be presented to and be authorized by the Congress after the application is approved by the Maritime Administration.

As a result, the advantage of such a possible subsidy arrangement on construction costs is lost and the business goes overseas, except in such cases where the company applying is presently operating vessels under United States Government operating subsidies which require that its vessels be U. S. built; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The AFL-CIO supports a comprehensive, long-range program for the shipbuilding industry of America. Such a program must include the following points:

1. Congressional recognition of the serious nature of this current crisis in the American shipbuilding industry.

2. A long-range ship replacement program by private U. S. shipping companies designed to prevent obsolescence of our merchant fleet and to retain skilled workers in our private shipyards. The restoration of the revolving fund of the U. S. Maritime Administration is most important to achieve this goal.

3. Because of the depression in our private shipbuilding industry Congress must seek to bring to U. S. private shipyards the shipbuilding being done in foreign yards for American shipowners and the U. S. government in its offshore procurement program. It is important to repeal U. S. laws which restrict our yards from building ships for foreign accounts while there are no restrictions on foreign yards building ships for American accounts.

4. Congress must enact a carefully drawn subsidy program for the American shipbuilding industry under which subsidies would be strictly limited to the actual auditable cost differences between American and foreign construction.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** I move adoption of the resolution. . . . The motion was seconded.

**DELEGATE BROWNLOW,** Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise before this Convention in support of this resolution. And I would further urge that every delegate present here today pay attention to the contents of the resolution so that you will be aware to some extent as to just what is happening to a major industry within the United States. The members of Congress should be made aware of what is happening to the shipbuilding industries.

This is the third time within the last 35 years that we have reached the point where there is practically no shipbuilding within the United States. The same thing occurred following 1919; it again occurred following the last World War, and again after the Korean conflict. Why we in the United States should continue to look with apathy upon the destruction of this great industry makes one wonder.

We have had this experience of great cost, the great rush of building up the merchant marine after each of these previous occasions. Twice when our nation was in serious danger of being overwhelmed as a result of a lack of ships our nation was in great peril. And further, because of our nation permitting this industry to become almost extinct it has had to rebuild right from scratch on each occasion. And let us examine, if you will, for a moment, some of the reasons for this. Is shipbuilding dead in the world? I don't think it is. I would like to quote you a figure or two. New construction on hand or contracted for on July 1st, 1955, which is the last date for which world figures are available, disclose an estimated 1,437 vessels of one thousand gross tons or over under construction or on order in the shipbuilding countries of the world, totaling almost 12,600,000 tons. That answers that question right there, that this industry isn't dying all over the world.

And then where does the United States stand in this world of nations? Our yards hold only 1.7 per cent of this total tonnage on 14 vessels, three cargo and 11 tankers, to put us in tenth place behind Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy, Norway and Denmark.

Does this mean that the United States companies are not building ships? Let's look at that and see what they are doing. As of June 30th of 1955 the United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 62 vessels totaling 1,278,000 gross tons. These vessels include 41 tankers, 18 ore carriers, and 3 dry cargo vessels. That shows whether or not the United States companies are building ships.

What are these same companies doing in the United States? Let me tell you that story. United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in United States yards only eight vessels totaling 128 gross tons. Now get that picture as against one million two hundred and some thousand gross tons. These included seven tankers and one ore carrier. In other words, the United States companies and their affiliates on June 30th, 1955, were 'building foreign' ten times the gross tonnage that they have placed in U. S. yards.

We all are acquainted with the run-away shop, farming out of work and other practices to obtain ships or any other manufactured goods at a lesser price and under lower standards of living than we would normally subscribe for. But this is the thing I believe everyone here should pay attention to, as profits mount, industry and our nation pay the bill on shipbuilding. In other words, profits in all industry are greater than they ever have been in the history of our nation, and yet the same people that are enjoying the profits of our American industry are buying the tools in foreign nations.

If these companies depend upon American purchasing power to make possible these profits, then they must also purchase from the American companies employing U. S. labor in this industry. Or in other terms, and I say

this with all the conviction I possess, that if they expect us to buy their gasoline and their other products, then we expect them also to buy American and build American.

We give them the rights to our natural resources. We give them every other inducement so that they can make a profit, and then they spend the benefits of that abroad.

And here is something else which I am sure might startle a few people in this Convention, and that is, that many companies who do have a shipbuilding order are now finding it necessary to go to Japan and some European companies to obtain their steel. Apparently, there is more money in beer cans and light steel than there is in heavy plate, shapes and structural steel. So, there isn't any steel available for shipbuilding for American companies to the end that American companies have to import from abroad. This is much more serious than it would seem on the surface. If this industry is going to survive, then it will take the combined efforts of every organization in the American trade union movement to prevail upon Congress to look into the conditions responsible for the death of this industry.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Any further discussion on the resolution on shipbuilding?

If not, we will proceed to vote on the motion to adopt it. Those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; contrary, nay.

It is carried and so ordered.

The Chair recognizes co-Secretary

Soderstrom.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

### FARMER-LABOR UNITY

Since its beginning, the American labor movement has sought to befriend and to aid the farmer, whether he works as an agricultural wage earner, a tenant, or on his own land.

It is only natural that organized labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to raise the nation's food and fibre. Millions of AFL-CIO members grew up on farms. Many of their families and friends are still in agriculture. We of labor recognize that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own. We are fully aware, too, that farmers and city workers mutually depend upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers, too.

Because of these convictions, organized labor has consistently supported efforts to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agriculture.

We have actively supported farm co-operatives, rural electrification, an adequate system of price supports, farm credit aids, soil conservation, crop insurance, farmer coverage under social security, and other measures to raise rural housing and health and educational standards.

While many of these programs involve sizable public outlays which all taxpayers share, organized labor has supported and defended them as vital



to the welfare of seven million farm operators and farm wage earners and their families. We recognize, in fact, that they are vital to the well-being of the entire nation.

Since the ordeal of the depression we have observed, with great satisfaction, the gradual improvement in rural living standards, as special efforts were applied to meet the complex and often changing problems of American agriculture. This hopeful upward movement reached its peak, however, in 1951. Since then the income of farm families has lagged far behind the forward strides taken by other parts of the economy.

This new misfortune has not come about because of any slackening of effort on the part of the American farmers. Both agricultural output and efficiency are now at record highs.

The fault lies beyond the farm. It is, rather, the failure to establish a federal program to divert a larger part of our agricultural abundance to millions of potential consumers at home and overseas who want and need it, and to provide a more just return to the American farmer who produces it.

During the last three years the responsibility for policies to meet the decline in farm income has rested squarely on the Administration in Washington. Yet, the Secretary of Agriculture and other Administration spokesmen are now telling the farmer that his plight is due to rising farm costs and the labor unions that supposedly bring them about.

This transparent alibi for the failure of his own agricultural policies surely does not elevate the stature of the Secretary of Agriculture or of the present Administration.

Since January 1953, when he took office, the combined price of all of the items for which the farmer pays did not rise; actually it declined by 1½ percent.

On the other hand, prices received by farmers have gone down 14 percent and total net agricultural income of farm operators, which includes all government payments, has dropped from almost \$15 billion in 1952 to a yearly rate of about \$10.5 billion today.

Sometimes it is argued that this tremendous farm income loss is really of little consequence since the number of farmers is also going down. Looked at on a "per farm" basis, however, the income drop since 1952 totals a staggering 20 percent.

It is true that, while over-all farm production and living costs have gone down, certain costs to the farmer have risen; but this is in no sense the fault of organized labor.

Since 1952, the interest rate on the money farmers borrow has risen most of all, by over 16 percent. Yet this misfortune, which labor also shares, stems directly from the "hard money" policy of the Administration.

The price of farm machinery, trucks and autos is also up; but the prices for these products were raised completely out of all proportion to any increase in labor costs.

Under these circumstances, the trade unions of America cannot be held responsible for today's agricultural crisis. The cause lies elsewhere and the Secretary knows this full well; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, A soundly conceived program to raise the income of America's farm families is basic to the welfare of trade unionists. Similarly, our effort to raise city worker standards, through collective bargaining and legislative action, ultimately helps to increase the consumption of food and fibre and thereby underpins and enlarges the market of American agriculture.

Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partnership in the unlimited promise of the United States.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations shall dedicate themselves to building an unshakable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers, thereby to advance their common welfare and the well-being of the entire nation.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

### **SURPLUS FOODS**

There is at present the need for a greater distribution of surplus foods without the restrictions which the Department of Agriculture is apparently trying to put on the much-too-limited program now under way.

We in the American labor movement support in principle the surplus commodities distribution program and urge its extension as we feel that through this program many communities across the country will be able to supplement the sometimes meager welfare assistance to the permanently disabled, the handicapped, and especially those on fixed incomes; for example, old age assistance recipients and those receiving pensions. Surplus foods will also help those who have exhausted unemployment benefits and are unable to find work as well as those who are seeking work and drawing unemployment compensation. The surplus foods program would be an immeasurable supplement to the aid given to dependent children programs.

We in the organized labor movement believe that this proposed extension of surplus commodities would help to

bolster and strengthen the work of both the tax-supported welfare agencies and the many private health and welfare agencies in their job of helping to meet the unmet needs of many people.

We must make clear that we do not see in the surplus foods distribution program a final or even more than a temporary and partial solution to the overall welfare problem. This type of program, we must point out, runs the great danger of being turned into a government subsidy for low standards of living. We believe that the basic solution to the problem of low-income families must be, not charity or welfare aid, but a more fundamental concern for proper economic measures which will insure better job opportunities and a higher level of income.

We recognize the surplus foods program only as a temporary and stop-gap measure. We point out, too, that unless other steps are taken to remove the economic shortcomings which bring about the present need of these low-income families through such measures as a higher minimum wage, an expanding economy to provide jobs for those now unemployed and a sound social security program, that the problem will be forever with us; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, This convention goes on record as urging all affiliated unions and councils and central labor bodies to actively participate in the extension of the surplus foods distribution to all people in need. This convention also goes on record as urging the Congress of the United States to extend and enlarge the surplus commodities distribution program to include all people in need regardless of the cause of that need.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM**: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Committee Co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution:

### POLITICAL ACTION

Since the Founding of our Republic, American labor has been in the forefront of the fight to advance the welfare of our community.

Down through the years the American labor movement has constantly endeavored to raise the level of wages, to improve working conditions, and to raise the over-all standard of living of all the working people of our country. Through strong organization following sound collective bargaining procedures we have helped make our economy healthy and enabled our democracy to withstand all assaults upon it.

Today, as a result of the efforts of our organizations, we have achieved laws embodying the 40-hour week, providing for workmen's compensation and compensation for persons thrown out of work through no fault of their own, protecting the health and safety standards of our working population, and providing a measure of security for our aged.

Despite these achievements and the strength they have given to our country's economy, a small but powerful core of reactionary business groups continues to oppose the legitimate efforts at betterment of our organizations. Failing to thwart and frustrate the labor movement on the collective bargaining front, they have carried their destructive program to the legislative halls of the nation. Through unfair and inequitable legislation they have sought to punish American trade unions and to destroy, or render useless, our collective bargaining strength.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law and the enactment of "right to work" laws in 18 states of our union spearheaded the attempt to return American working people to a condition of economic serfdom. These laws constitute a dagger at the throat of American trade unions and a threat to the standard of living of every working man and woman.

To protect the gains we have achieved on the collective bargaining front and to stop the assaults upon our standards of living in the national Congress and the legislatures of the various states, we have been forced to turn to the field of political education and activity. We have sought to alert our members to the assaults being made upon our organizations and the standards of living which we have established.

We have sought to inform them of the records and actions of the legislators and other public officials who seek their votes in order that our members may exercise their independent judgment at election time. We have urged them to register and to vote in order that they may participate fully in the government of our country and we have urged them to contribute voluntarily to our political education funds in order that worthy candidates for public office need not rely solely upon the contributions of wealthy individuals and interests; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, This first convention of the world's largest trade union organization affirms the need for a continuing and expanding non-partisan program of political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

We call upon each and all of the affiliated organizations to render the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO all aid and assistance that it may require in the achievement of our purpose.

The political activities of organized labor should be expanded and the AFL-CIO should provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political education work of state, county and city federations and councils and also provide all possible aid and cooperation to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

One important phase of our political work should be the development of a program to place the appropriate voting records of our elected officials in

the homes of each member of our affiliated organizations in order that they may know the actions of these officials with respect to the issues which affect our national well-being and security.

Political activity among the wives, sisters and daughters of our membership as well as among the women members of our organization should be intensified to the end that their vast resources of skill, energy and devotion to the cause of good citizenship may be enlisted on our behalf.

We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation. We will cooperate wherever practical and feasible with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other manner.

To finance the program herein set forth, an annual campaign should be conducted for voluntary contributions from our members and we call upon each affiliated organization to render every possible cooperation and assistance in this endeavor.

It is our firm belief that our democratic form of self-government as set forth in the Constitution of the United States is the best that has ever been devised to meet the needs of free men. We pledge to it unselfish and unstinting support and vow that our every effort shall be directed to its preservation.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

#### **WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES**

For the past several years women have been playing an increasingly active role in the political life of our nation. In recent elections larger numbers of women than ever before registered and voted. In the campaigns which preceded these elections more women than ever before served on campaign committees in every capacity.

We view this development with approval and express the hope that it continues. We believe it represents a long over-due recognition by women that politics affects the lives and well-being of each individual citizen and that democracy imposes upon each citizen the responsibility to participate.

In this increasing political activity the wives, sisters and daughters of our trade union members are playing their part. They are active at all levels of our political movement and are serving the cause of good government in every capacity. They have taken the lead in forming telephone brigades, holding coffee hours in their homes, volunteering their clerical skills, assisting in the canvass of their neighborhoods, and in serving as election

day workers at the polls. As their experience increases they are taking part in the active management of campaigns together with their union husbands and brothers in the effort to achieve a common goal.

Many state and local councils and federations have recognized the worth of their activity and have established programs for its furtherance. Many have appointed to their political action committees and educational leagues persons with the specific responsibility of developing and carrying on the program of family participation.

This program has been, and should be, an integral part of the political action program of our state bodies and international and national unions.

The preponderance of women over men of voting age is concentrated in the industrial areas where their votes are of particular importance to organized labor. Furthermore, it is in these areas where anti-labor forces are at work to win the votes of trade union wives; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** In the coming elections there will be ample opportunity for us to continue to carry forward our program for family participation and we urge that this opportunity be utilized to the fullest extent.

We authorize and direct the Committee on Political Education to continue to strengthen its program for integrating the family voter into the political action program of our organization through the continuance of family participation training conferences and the establishment and encouragement of the women's divisions of the labor leagues.

We further urge our state and city central bodies and councils which have not as yet conducted family participation training conferences or established women's divisions to do so forthwith so that we may face the challenge of election day with our resources fully mobilized.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move the adoption of the Committee's report on Women's Political Activities.

... The motion to adopt the resolution on Women's Political Activities was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the following resolution:

#### **ELECTORAL REFORMS**

Democratic government depends, for its fullest realization, upon the greatest possible participation of those who live under that government and upon the full responsiveness of the government to the will of the majority. Anything less constitutes an imperfection in our form of government.

Unfortunately, such imperfections still exist in the form of outmoded election laws and practices and in antiquated Congressional procedures. Together they operate to prevent full expression of the will of the majority, and to relieve our officials and other elected representatives from the full

responsibility they should have to the majority will.

At a time when the United States is the world leader of democratic nations, we cannot tolerate these blots upon the methods by which we govern ourselves. We cannot meet the problems of today with procedures and practices of yesterday; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, The President and Vice President of the United States should be elected by direct popular vote. The electoral college system has outlived its usefulness, and should be abolished.

We believe, further, that a uniform primary law should be adopted by each state in order to permit direct and open primaries and to afford each person who desires it the opportunity to place his candidacy before the voters.

We believe, further, that a uniform registration system for each state, designed to facilitate rather than hinder free voting, should be adopted. All poll taxes should be abolished, and legalisms and technicalities which have done much to hamper voting should likewise be done away with.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM**: In the resolution the language appears in the printed literature, "Such as parent teacher associations." In line with the policy of not mentioning any organizations this language was eliminated at the request of the unions interested. With this change, the resolution is as follows:

### EDUCATION

Whereas, since the American trade union movement was founded, it has fought for the development of the public school and for an educational program through which every child and youth would not only master the basic tools of learning but would also be given some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of these principles and urges their implementation through a program of adequate well built school housing; a democratically administered school system; statewide compulsory school attendance laws in which loop-holes are closed; free text-books for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools; a curriculum, so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his personal capacity; classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; the development of a strong teachers' union affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility.

To secure and hold such teachers the community must:

a. Provide adequate pay to enable the teacher to support himself and his family properly.

b. Assure the teacher freedom to teach the truth.

c. Provide personal and professional security through the establishment of the legal right to bargain collectively, strong tenure laws, and adequate statutory pension provisions.

d. Help develop recognition of joint responsibility of the family, the school, and the community for respect for law and order to be reflected in the child's conduct.

e. Provide good working conditions, including:

1. Relief from clerical and other non-teaching assignments.

2. A free and uninterrupted lunch period.

3. Full recognition of so-called "extra curricular activities" as an integral part of the school's work.

### Adequate Support for Our Schools

The AFL-CIO recognizes that these demands place a responsibility on the community, and, therefore, pledges to fight for adequate financial support for our schools, through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and Federal level. However, in giving Federal funds to the states, safeguards must be written into the legislation giving state and Federal support for education, to assure the use of funds for the purposes, and in the manner in which the law and educational needs require them to be used.

Such Federal funds should be distributed and administered under state law, shall be allocated so as to recognize population, relative need and tax-paying capacity; shall supplement not supplant state and local funds and shall be made available to all parts of the state. States shall submit plans for expenditures which shall be subject to Federal audit and any aggrieved state or aggrieved citizen shall have his complaint reviewed by the Commissioner of Education with right to appeal to Federal courts.

Labor recognizes that practical legislative conditions demand that Federal aid be provided for specific purposes.

The five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid is needed immediately are Federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording the educational opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed or status. It is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It therefore, holds that no Federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

### **The White House Conference on Education**

The White House Conference on Education, following long and serious consideration of the major aspects of the crisis in American education, concluded that "the overwhelming majority of the more than two thousand delegates favor federal financial support for education." The report is a clear-cut expression of the American people's desire that the federal government help the states to finance construction of new buildings, to increase teachers' salaries, and to expand school curricula and materials. Support for federal aid for public school building was widespread among the approximately 1,500 participants from 48 states and territories of the United States, and the majority also favored general aid to public schools where needed.

Only 4% of those present at the Washington conference were representatives of labor. This failure to recognize labor's active interest in and concern with current needs of the public schools should be brought to the attention of the Governors and the state educational authorities who were responsible for the selection of participants. State federations of labor should be alert in the future to see that labor is properly represented on planning committees on the local and state levels and that labor representatives take an active part in such conferences.

The White House Conference report represented a signal victory for the educational policies which organized labor has advocated for many years. The campaign conducted by all of organized labor resulted in a labor delegation which was well informed and articulate, although numerically a minority.

The conclusions reached by the White House Conference represent progress. However, their implementation may be a long way off. The same forces which have been opposed to federal aid will continue to use their power and influence to prevent Congress from appropriating adequate federal funds for schools. We in the united labor movement will need to intensify our efforts to insure success. It is essential that our program be continued at local, state, and national levels until America's children are assured of the educational opportunities necessary in a complex society.

### **Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts**

The AFL-CIO hails the encouraging developments in Congress giving recognition to the significance of the arts in American culture. It pledges active support to programs which help create and develop aesthetic values in youth and adults.

### **School Lunch Program**

The AFL-CIO urges support for the expansion of the present school lunch program.

### **The Children's Bureau**

The AFL-CIO deeply appreciates the services for children made available through the Children's Bureau and urges adequate support for its work.

### **Rural Library Demonstration Centers**

The AFL-CIO urges support of legislation providing for Rural Library Demonstration Centers and for a further development of mobile library services in city and suburban areas.

### **The United States Office of Education**

The AFL-CIO urges long overdue appropriations to enable the Office of Education to conduct research in the field of education. Education is the one major area in which basic data are not currently available.

### **Academic Freedom and Integrity**

The AFL-CIO believes that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be honored at all times. However, the right of the community to protect our schools and our youth from those who would seek to direct or control their thinking leads us to recognize the need of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation.

### **Vocational Education**

From its inception the trade union movement in America has recognized the value of vocational education. Labor has continuously supported the principle of such a program of federal support of such a program even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the program.

The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craftsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society. At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprenticeship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given.

### Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a Labor Extension Service in the United States Department of Labor to provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers, and businessmen through the Department of Commerce, administered at the national and state levels through advisory boards made up of representatives of the organized labor movement and cooperating institutions and agencies.

### Educational T. V.

We believe that educational T. V. has proved its value where stations have been established and we insist the Federal Communications Commission continue to reserve the channels set aside exclusively for educational purposes.

All T. V. educational stations should have an operating committee fully representative of all interests in the community.

### Community Cooperation

The AFL-CIO calls upon its state and local unions to urge their members to participate in community activities in cooperation with other civic groups, and through such a cooperative program, to develop support for the education programs and projects it supports for the betterment of the community.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** Mr. President, I move the adoption of their report.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the resolution on Education was adopted.

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following:

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The place of the Government worker in the trade union movement has long been recognized, and the benefits which have resulted to those employees and to the Labor movement as a whole are many.

The enactment of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act in 1912, secured for all employees of the Federal Government the right to membership in organizations that would not impose an obligation to strike or participate in strikes against the Federal Government. The growth of Postal and Federal Employees' organizations since that time is directly attributable to that Act.

Starting with World War I, Government employe unions have occupied a clearly defined place in arsenals, naval shipyards, postal, administrative, technical, scientific and in other facilities in the Executive Branch of the Government. In practically every instance where advancements for such employes have been made, the improvements in their work standards have resulted from their efforts through their organizations.

As a result of their organization intelligent leadership and the cooperation of the Trade union movement, the employees of our Federal Government have made tremendous strides in their ef-

fort to secure for their members benefits comparable to those enjoyed by workers in private industry.

Because of the nature of their employment and the total lack of the accepted collective bargaining machinery common to private industry, benefits secured for Postal and Federal Employees almost invariably require Acts of Congress and programs for their future benefits are as a result stated in terms of legislation. This legislation results from their persuasive efforts based on sound practices and justifiable demands.

In the past, legislation in the interest of Federal employees has taken many forms, including, but not limited to, the length of the work-week and work-day, the number of holidays, rates of basic and overtime compensation, retirement, unemployment compensation, disability compensation and other benefits for active service or superannuation. Many of these benefits have been achieved slowly but certainly through the coordination of employee efforts through their affiliated unions.

The Federal Government must recognize its responsibility to provide wages, hours and conditions of employment at least equal to those enjoyed in private industry; indeed Government should assume the role of leader in advocating improvements in employee welfare. Such a program can only result to the best interest of the Federal Government and its employees. The average citizen or taxpayer has a stake in this endeavor. He has a right to expect the best possible results from his tax dollar and this result may only be obtained through enlightened personnel policies on the part of our Federal Government.

These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American labor movement.

There remains much to be done to bring the wages, hours and conditions of the employees of the Federal Government up to the levels of people employed in private industry.

The officers and delegates of affiliated Federal employe organizations solicit the full support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in bringing to successful conclusion the following legislative and administrative program; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:**

#### Retirement

The Federal Retirement System is long overdue for liberalization and modification to keep abreast of the times. We vigorously support legislation to amend the Federal Employee Retirement Act, and we endorse the provisions of S. 1153—Johnston (S.C.) and H. R. 3791—Morrison (La.), to allow optional retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age. We ask Congress to amend and liberalize the Federal Employee Retirement Act in the computing of annuities, and use the formula as provided for in Public Law 303 of the 83rd Congress, that



computes the annuities of members of the Congress and employees in the Legislative branch.

### Postal and Federal Employees Salaries

Salaries of Federal and Postal Employees have historically lagged behind the cost of living. The first session of the 84th Congress after protracted consideration passed Public Law 68 and Public Law 94 providing an extremely modest though totally inadequate salary increase for Federal and Postal Employees.

Despite all the pronouncements concerning the devotion and dedication to merit principles allegedly espoused by the present administration, the actions of its administrators have consistently been directly in opposition to those basic requirements of a sound civil service system such as adequate salaries, and a recognition of the dignity of those employed by our Federal Government.

In the recent effort to enact necessary salary legislation these politically appointed administrators have on all possible occasions used every parliamentary device, every trick, to erect barriers to confuse and befuddle not only the employees but the Congress and the American people as well, by dragging into the salary question such extraneous matters as postal rates and postal reclassification, as well as minor so-called "fringe benefits," such as insurance, hospitalization and bond premiums, all of which employees could readily purchase for themselves if they were properly compensated.

No question of postal rates or taxes can be germane to the question of a proper salary for the employees of our Federal Government.

We pledge continuation of efforts in behalf of just and equitable treatment for Postal and Federal employees. We hereby support the efforts of affiliated unions of government employees to obtain an adequate and permanent salary increase in an amount to be determined by them, on the basis of the demonstrated needs of such employees including recognition of the employees' acknowledged increased productivity and without consideration of extraneous matters which are not germane to the salary question. This action will assure equal pay for equal work for American citizens employed outside continental United States.

We call upon the 2nd session of the 84th Congress to make this matter an early order of business to the end that justice will no longer be denied these loyal and faithful servants of our nation.

### Statutory Recognition of Organizations

We support legislation for statutory recognition of organizations of postal and federal employees and collective bargaining and impartial arbitration of disputes between agencies and union representation on area and departmental wage boards and AFL-CIO unions representing postal and federal employees.

### Opposition to the Assumption of Management Functions by the Postal Inspection Service

We urge the Postmaster General to instruct Post Office Inspectors to discontinue their assumed management functions of the postal service and return to the original duties of the prevention of depredations in the mail.

### Technological Developments

Rapid technological advancement made during the last ten years has increased individual productivity without corresponding remuneration to the Postal and Federal employee.

Automation has resulted in elimination of many positions and opportunity for advancement in the Postal and Federal civilian service; at the same time, private industry has generally accepted a shorter basic work week of less than 40 hours.

Postal and Federal Government Administrators meanwhile have failed to give proper consideration to human values when the effects of automation eliminate the opportunity for continued employment.

The Federal Government should properly provide leadership in recognizing the adverse long range economic impact upon our national economy if automation continues to eliminate opportunity for employment. A shorter basic work week for Postal and Federal employees would objectively solve, to a degree, the adverse economic impact of present and future automation.

We pledge active support to enactment of legislation to establish a 35-hour basic work week in the Postal and Federal civilian service; without loss of hourly, weekly, biweekly, monthly or annual salary to the Postal and Federal civilian employees. Minimum overtime one hour; time and a half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday work.

### Detailed Legislative Program

We propose the following:

- (a) Enactment of legislation or regulations that will provide for in-service-training programs regardless of race, creed, or color, within the Classified Civil Service where such training programs do not violate the principle of recognized crafts apprentice programs and the General Policy of promotions-from-within that service with seniority being the determining factor, all other conditions being equal.
- (b) Favor removal from Government service of any known member of the Communist party or other subversive groups and the discontinuance of the practice of labeling as security risks separated employees whose disloyalty has not been proved or even questioned.
- (c) Endorse and vigorously support revision of the Classification Act of 1949 for Federal classified employees to reflect equitable application of modern classification principles with equal voice

- granted to AFL-CIO unions in determining grade levels. Development of Government-wide promotion standards; promotion from within agency wherever practicable.
- (d) Actively support legislation to grant all employees of the United States Government 26 days' annual leave—15 days sick leave annually, to be cumulative.
  - (e) Support enactment of Rhodes Bill H. R. 4082 relating to automotive equipment for special delivery messengers.
  - (f) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable overtime pay for Federal employees.
  - (g) Extension of the principles of the Employees' Compensation Appeals Board with provisions for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.
  - (h) Urge enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.
  - (i) Support legislation to exempt retirement annuities from Federal Income Tax.
  - (j) Amendments to Civil Service Employees' Retirement Act giving greater benefits and protection to those now retired and to those that will retire.
  - (k) Establishment of seniority principles among all United States Government employees.
  - (l) Support legislation providing time credits to postal transportation clerks assigned to runs in which the average speed of trains exceeds 42 miles per hour.
  - (m) Enactment of legislation to prevent use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employees.
  - (n) Enactment of legislation to provide additional compensation to classified employees for temporary hazardous duties.
  - (o) Oppose any merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Social Security Act.
  - (p) Vigorously oppose establishment of one Central Wage Board and support amendments to the present Wage Boards looking to the establishment of a system to bring true collective bargaining between agencies of Government and the Unions representing its employees.
  - (q) Legislation or an executive order to establish a Safety Program throughout the Federal Government in keeping with the principles as outlined in S. 363, introduced by Senator Murray in the 83d Congress.
  - (r) Legislation to amend, clarify and strengthen the 1950 performance rating act.
  - (s) Support the intent of H. R. 3255 to protect all employees (Wage Board, Classification Act and Field Service Postal Employees) in protecting their salaries when their positions are downgraded.
  - (t) Support legislation making it mandatory for at least one member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission to be appointed from AFL-CIO membership.
  - (u) Approval of a prompt and impartial appeals machinery available to all postal and federal employees encountering adverse personnel actions.
  - (v) Recognition of human values and the impact on Federal and postal workers of the increased use of electronic devices and other automatic methods of increasing employee productivity.
  - (w) Hospital and medical insurance program for Federal employees with employee representation in administration of plan and Federal Government to underwrite at least 50% of the total cost, and with administrative principles consistent with those approved by the AFL-CIO for administration of health and welfare funds negotiated with employers in private industry. Legislation to provide for the admittance to federally operated and/or state-supported institutions for those American citizens federally employed and their dependents who are outside continental limits of the United States.
  - (x) Adequate legislation to restore to civilian employees of the Defense Department outside continental United States, standards of living comparable to those citizens in continental United States.
  - (y) Vigorously oppose the Post Office Department's recently instituted speed-up system, misnamed "Works Standards Program." Continue to oppose the abolition of the Postal Savings System.
  - (z) Support legislation to correct inequities and injustices existing for Federal Fire Fighters in all branches of the Defense Department.
  - (aa) Support legislation to observe on Friday all legal holidays that fall on Saturday.

#### Other Issues

We also believe that the use of steel intaglio postage stamps should be encouraged instead of metered mail; claims before the Employees Compensation Board should be expedited; Post Office Department's work standards program should be eliminated; wages and hours for Federal Firefighters should be standardized; the Postal Savings System should be continued; and provision should be made for mentally ill overseas employees, and for adequate housing for Department of Defense employees overseas.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded.

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: Mr. President and delegates, I rise in support of the Committee's report, but find it necessary to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that there is no reference to the infamous Hatch Act in this report.

Through no fault of the Resolutions Committee, but rather due to inadvertence, this report does not show that the Federal employee organizations, all of them, are committed to amendments which would restore to all Federal em-

employees their full rights and privileges. I want it understood, then, that the opposition of the Federal employees to the Hatch Act should be the sense of the Convention.

I would also draw attention to the apprehension that has existed during this week regarding the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee of the old Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Government Employees Council of the old American Federation of Labor. I am authorized to say that within a very short period of time following the adjournment of this Convention there will be called in Washington a meeting of both groups, having as its purpose to find ways and means of ironing out whatever differences may exist, and above all the common goal of that meeting will be to organize the unorganized Government workers, so that when we come back into convention assembled we will be able to say that there are 2½ million Federal workers affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Thank you.

**PRESIDENT MEANY:** Is there further discussion on this report? The motion is to adopt the resolution. I am sure there is no objection to the Federation and Congress taking full note of the attitude of all the Government employee unions in regard to the Hatch Act.

... The motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

#### **PAY TELEVISION**

There are now pending before the Federal Communications Commission certain applications which would provide for and permit the granting by that Commission to specified interests, exclusive licenses to broadcast, and charge for, television programs which are now being received without charge in the private homes of America.

It is our sincere belief that such a plan known as "Pay Television" would constitute and become an infringement on the property right now enjoyed by the general public on a no fee basis. Such a plan would be an intrusion into and a violation of the privacy of the home, and would curtail greatly the free use of a medium which has become a part of the American home; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** The AFL-CIO opposes the granting by the Federal Communications Commission of licenses permitting "Pay Television" and request the Officers of the AFL-CIO to make known to the members of the Federal Communications Commission and to the Members of the Congress of the United States the position expressed in this resolution.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

#### **RESOLUTION RE: PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT AND INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES**

**WHEREAS,** A committee representing the Building and Construction Trades Department and a committee representing the CIO Industrial Unions met in Washington, D. C. on November 14, 1955, and again in New York City on November 29, 1955, for the purpose of exploring possible solutions to existing conflicts, and

**WHEREAS,** It was the consensus of agreement between the two committees that a permanent committee should be established to resolve present conflicts and those that may arise in the future, and

**WHEREAS,** the agreement between the two committees was to the effect that the respective committees would report to President Reuther of the CIO and President Meany of the AFL recommending a joint committee from the Industrial Union Department of the merged organization and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the merged organization, and

**WHEREAS,** Both committees reported and obtained approval from President Meany and President Reuther to the establishment of a permanent committee, and

**WHEREAS,** It was further agreed between the two committees that the duties of the permanent committee to be established shall be to develop rules of procedure by mutual agreement for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, such rules of procedure to be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO merged federation; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That a permanent committee be established composed equally of representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department and from the Industrial Union Department, and that the duties of this permanent committee shall be to develop rules of procedure for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, said rules of procedure when formulated shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the merged federation, in accordance with the Constitution.

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM:** The Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

#### **COOPERATIVES**

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** We have one statement to read:

"In the afternoon of the first day of the Convention, the resolution on Cooperatives was adopted. Through an

inadvertence, we find that the last phrase on the resolved was omitted. I ask unanimous consent that this phrase, which reads, 'but also maintain labor-management relations that carry out trade union principles,' be added to the resolution."

We move the adoption of that statement.

The motion for adoption of the statement was seconded and carried unanimously.

### ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

**COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN:** In addition to the resolutions which the Resolutions Committee has submitted to this convention, additional resolutions have been referred to the AFL-CIO by both the AFL and the CIO conventions. At the AFL convention, these resolutions were referred to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. The resolutions from the CIO were referred to this convention and your Resolutions Committee now recommends that they also be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action. Because the text of these resolutions has not been printed in the proceedings of the CIO convention, the Resolutions Committee recommends that they be printed at this point in the proceedings of this convention.

They are as follows:

### RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

We reaffirm our belief that the natural resources of this country must be used for the greatest good, the greatest number, for the longest time possible. The growth of population, expanding technology of demands for an ever higher standard of living require the fullest practical development of the Nation's resources taken from the land, sea and air. While carefully planning the use of available supplies of existing resources, progress in the scientific arts provides our economy an opportunity to develop new and additional resources to meet the needs of modern day living.

From recent reports and studies such as that of the President's Commission on Materials Policy, we have learned that the raw material demands of our industrial economy will in the next 20 years far outstrip our supplies. If we are to achieve our potentials by way of an expanding industrial economy, higher standard of living, a greater level of prosperity, and if we are to maintain and extend employment opportunities for our citizens, this problem of raw materials must be solved. As has been pointed out in these studies and reports, the raw materials problem can only be solved if we conserve and utilize to the maximum extent the resource potentials of the U. S. and its allies around the world.

Labor particularly has its stake in a sound natural resources policy for conservation and maximum utilization. The extraction and primary processing of our raw materials in the natural resources of the country provide hundreds of thousands of jobs. Millions of jobs in turn are dependent upon a continuing flow of these raw materials to the industrial portions of our economy. Our rivers, streams and forests, in addition furnish water supplies for countless communities and recreational opportunities for increasing millions

of our citizens. Much of our food and fiber comes from public grazing lands and from lands which have been irrigated through public river development projects. Various regions of the country are in need of protection of their homes, their business and their jobs through water development projects which serve to control floods and at the same time provide additional benefits by way of low cost hydroelectric energy.

In view of the tremendous stake which labor and all other segments of the American community have in the natural resources of the country, it is intolerable that the present Administration should be pursuing a policy of blundering and giving away important segments of our natural resources heritage. We deplore these policies of the present Administration and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to have them changed.

Among the prime examples of such give-aways has been the surrender to a few states of the tremendous offshore oil reserves which belong to all the people of the U. S. and which could have provided vast revenues dedicated to improving our educational system. Another example has been the giveaway to private power companies of such incomparable hydroelectric power sites as that of Hells Canyon on the Snake River on the Idaho-Oregon border. Still another example of this giveaway policy has been the sale of large tracts of Government timber to favored private operators without competitive bidding. Another example of the way in which the country's natural resources has been plundered has been the approval by this Administration of phonny mining claims which has permitted other surface resources of these claims once the patents have been issued.

Another attempt to give away an important segment of the natural resources of the country was temporarily stopped. This was when Congressman Wesley D'Ewart, Republican of Montana, introduced a bill by which the cattlemen and ship growers would have obtained vested private interest in our national forests and other public lands in place of the permits or leases which they now possess. Had Mr. D'Ewart been successful the Federal agencies charged with the responsibility of administering the national forests and other public lands involved would have been deprived of their authority to manage these lands so as to protect the timber, the watersheds values, the recreational values and the other values which these lands possess.

Although this attempt at giveaway was stopped in the Congress we now witness the spectacle of this same Mr. D'Ewart being appointed to the position of Assistant Secretary of Interior for Public Land Management. Unless his nomination is blocked in the Senate in the forthcoming session of the Congress Mr. D'Ewart will be able to do through administration what he was unable to accomplish with the bill he introduced into the Congress.

In the light of the foregoing the AFL-CIO recommends the following:

1. **Forests.** That with respect to the public forest resources of the U. S. current malpractices of administration be corrected and new legislation be enacted to ensure that the full annual sustained yield allowable cut of these forests be offered for sale so as to sustain the hundreds of thousands of jobs and the hun-

dreds of communities whose continuance of prosperity is dependent upon these timber supplies. Moreover that it be made mandatory that public timber be offered for sale on the basis of open competitive bidding and that present practices leading to discrimination and favor of chosen operators be discontinued. In this connection we urge that with respect to areas and species of timber with respect to which there is adequate installed plant capacity, that timber be offered for sale in small blocks with the further requirement that cutting on such timber be started within a reasonable period after the sale, and that all timber must be cut and removed within 3 years from the sale date. With respect to areas of timber species in which there is not adequate existing installed plant capacity it is recognized that long term sales of timber in large blocks is sound public policy if employed for the purpose of inducing new investment in plant facilities.

Federally developed access roads can help maintain competitive opportunities in the bidding for timber rights in the large remaining stands. The access roads bill enacted by the Congress must be implemented with adequate appropriations and a vigorous administration in the public interest by the Department of Interior. Thus, 6½ million acres of forest land will be available for perpetual, sustained yield programs.

We further recommend action by Federal forest agencies to develop fully the recreational potentials of public forest lands so that the hunting, fishing, hiking, camping and scenic values of these lands can be enjoyed by ever increasing numbers of our citizens and perpetuity.

2. *Minerals.* Under the archaic mining laws which apply to federally-owned public lands including our national forests, legalized plunder is currently authorized. Even the few protections that exist in such mining laws have been weakened or nullified by the actions of the present Administration as is illustrated by the grant of patents in the notorious Al Sarena mining claims case. In this instance it appears that some \$700,000 to \$800,000 worth of national forest timber was given away to some mining claims speculators by this Administration in the guise of mining claims.

We commend the 84th Congress for taking a step in the right direction in the amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments, however, do not go far enough and we recommend that the old mining laws either be scrapped in favor of a mineral leasing system or else be thoroughly overhauled so as to completely separate the available surface resources from the sub-surface mineral resources against which claims may be made. Until the glaring loopholes in these mining laws are closed we will continue to lose parts of our natural resources base through a device which is equivalent to legalized stealing.

#### NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

The various religious faiths and denominations in America have repeatedly expressed their approval of the basic principle of trade union association. They have, particularly through their agencies for social action, supported many of the

socially and economically progressive measures sought by labor. In turn, like their fellow Americans, most union members believe in and support the cause of religion, whether Catholic, Jewish, or Protestant. Both Religion and Labor seek to increase social justice. Both are natural allies in the struggle to improve life in America for all.

In order to further that alliance, the National Religion and Labor Foundation has for many years served as a bridge of understanding. Its local Religion and Labor Fellowships have done much for labor and religion alike by providing a common meeting ground for rabbis, priests and ministers together with AFL, CIO and independent Labor Leaders, clearing away misunderstandings and increasing local and national cooperation on important issues. It has received the endorsement of the late Presidents William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray of the CIO, and of Presidents George Meany and Walter Reuther, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations commend the work of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, a non-sectarian membership organization, to our International Unions and affiliated organizations. It recommends cooperation in the establishment and work of local Religion and Labor Fellowships, and it further commends to its affiliates support of the national organization by becoming supporting group members, in the belief that religion and labor must walk together if the great and worthy aims of both are to be most completely fulfilled.

#### WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES

The Auxiliaries have, through their educational programs, acquainted the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our union members with the history and goals of our labor unions. They have staged union label campaigns, contests, and exhibits promoting the union label and have issued a directory of union-made products. They belong to the National Safety Council and their own community safety councils and promote safety in every way they can in the homes, schools and on the highways.

Through the local union and county council political action committees they have worked for the election of endorsed candidates by registering the unregistered, forming telephone brigades, doing the necessary clerical work, plus any other duties assigned to them.

The Auxiliaries, by staging demonstrations and by boycotting products of companies during labor disputes, have assisted the unions in their successful settlement of these disputes.

The Auxiliaries have provided a well-balanced recreation program for the union members and their families.

The Auxiliaries have been exceedingly active in the various community drives, assisting not only in a monetary way but also by donating their personal services on a year-around basis. They serve on community boards and act as community counsellors to our union members.

They have also been active in the civil defense program by serving as block wardens and members of the Ground Observer Corps, therefore, be it

RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO arrange



a meeting of a joint committee composed of five members each from the Industrial Union Auxiliaries and the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor as soon as possible to discuss merger plans.

That representatives of AFL-CIO attend this meeting to advise and assist.

That when details of the merger are completed a Convention of the two auxiliary groups shall be called.

### CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

WHEREAS, The Communists continue to enslave hundreds of millions of people throughout the world by means of deceit, propaganda and tyranny, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that the struggle for men's minds must result in ultimate victory for the free world, and

WHEREAS, The continued enslavement of the seventy million people of the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain is a grim barrier to the cause of freedom and to the hope for peace, and

WHEREAS, America's Crusade for Freedom has proven to be one of the really effective instruments in the struggle for men's minds because it tells the truth about what is happening in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain, and

WHEREAS, During the past five years the work of the Crusade, the Free Europe Committee, Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press have done a remarkably effective job of strengthening the bonds of brotherhood between organized labor in America and the laboring classes who once knew freedom behind the Iron Curtain, and

WHEREAS, The continued effectiveness of the Crusade for Freedom depends on the intensified financial and moral support of the American people, particularly in the labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO Executive Council believes that the Crusade for Freedom merits the wholehearted endorsement and support of the entire united American labor movement.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

### COMMUNICATIONS

... Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the receipt of the following communications:

December 7, 1955

Washington  
Hon. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St.

Warmest congratulations and heartfelt good wishes to you and to Walter Reuther, and the fifteen hundred delegates assembled in what I believe, will in future years, be recorded as one of the most historic meetings in the history of our republic. Common folks in all walks of life should be happy at the thought of a united fighting force organized to battle in their behalf. As the senior Senator from North Dakota elected by the farmers, the workers, and the small businessmen, I know of no reason why we cannot join hands to unite in the common bond, making this nation of ours the great country

that our forefathers, in framing the Constitution destined it to become.  
Regards.

WILLIAM LANGER  
United States Senator

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y.  
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith offers its congratulations to united and organized labor. As American citizens. We are gratified by the maturity and statesmanship demonstrated in the fusion of AFL and CIO. The impact of which should bring greater physical and social benefits to all the families of our nation. And your united determination to strike out against the evils of discrimination and second class citizenship for minority groups immeasurably strengthens the cause for harmony and brotherhood among all people. For this we salute you.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ  
National Chairman

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y.  
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory.

On behalf of the National Committee for Labor Israel, we congratulate you and your fifteen million members on the successful unification of the American labor movement. Labor in the free world is following your proceedings with joy and approval. To the enslaved workers in the totalitarian lands you carry the hope that some day they too will be free. We thank you for past support of Israel and her great labor movement, the Histadrut. We are confident of your continued cooperation.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, National Chairman, ISAAC HAMLIN, Chairman Executive Committee, DOV BIEGUN, National Secretary.

December 8, 1955

New York, N. Y.  
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, Armory, 34th St. & Park Ave.

In behalf of 200 stewards meeting in general council on Wednesday, December 7th, 1955, we wish to extend our heartfelt greetings to the officers and delegates assembled at the Convention for bringing about a united labor movement in our country. We pledge you our support in advancing the cause of labor and the welfare of all the people of our nation.

LEON J. DAVIS, President

Local 1119

Retail Drug Employees Union

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Tokyo Branch Office.

Brothers and Sisters: The Co-ordinating Committee of the Japanese Trade Unions affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is extremely happy to convey this message of greetings and congratulations to the delegates assembled here on this glorious occasion of inaugural merger conference of the great two labor organizations representing sixteen million workers of the United States, the American Federation of



Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The successful unity you are demonstrating here before the free trade union movements of the free world will no doubt give impetus to them to their firm determination to follow your example in their struggle for protection and improvement of their living conditions and in defense of their trade union rights, freedom and lasting peace not only in their own countries but on the international level.

Though the conditions under which the Japanese free trade unions are struggling are different from yours, the objectives and ideals they are pursuing are the same as yours. The Japanese trade unions, whose history is still young and whose political, economic and social position is still quite weak as compared with the free trade union movements in other advanced industrial countries, but I am glad to pledge that the free trade unions rallied around the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will try hard to consolidate and expand themselves through mutual co-operation with and fraternal assistance and guidance of the world free trade unions.

Once again with their fraternal greetings, I am

Fraternally yours, MITSUO FUJIOKA, Chairman, Co-ordinating Committee Japanese Unions affiliated with the ICFTU

December 6, 1955

Dominica

Brother Seraphino Romauldi, Washington, D. C.

The Dominica Labour Party founded 24-5-55 by President Mrs. Phyllis Shand Alfrey sends warmest congratulations to world's now largest democratic body in free world, the merger of AFL and CIO.

J. A. JAMES, Treasurer.

New York, N. Y., Dec. 7, 1955.

President George Meany, CIO-AFL Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St., N. Y.

On behalf of Messali Hadj, president of the Algerian National Movement, who is now in forced residence in France, I send your great convention and the fifteen million members of AFL-CIO the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the people of Algeria who are fighting for their freedom. Recalling the moral and political support the Algerian National Movement has received from your leaders and executive councils within and outside of recent international labor conferences, it is no exaggeration to state that to your organizations must go the full credit for any prestige which the United States still enjoys among the people of North Africa. You can also rightfully claim credit for the improved situation in Morocco and Tunisia. While unfortunately the United States Government had on several occasions, within and without the United Nations, espoused the cause of an outworn and short-sighted French colonialism, even allowing American arms and equipment and N.A.T.O. troops to be used in the French colonial aggression in Algeria, it is gratifying to us that American organized labor, under your leadership, has

consistently upheld the torch of the American historic traditions and the rights of peoples to self-determination. By such position your organizations have not only justified our people's friendship and hopes in the great American republic and people but has also, more effectively, contributed to the failure of Communist agitation and penetration in North Africa. Long live freedom, long live American labor.

ALGERIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

**STATEMENT OF MR. T. NISHIMAKI, INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JAPAN SEAMEN'S UNION (ZENRO) AND DELEGATE TO THE ICFTU.**

It is my utmost pleasure to express my heartfelt greeting to the historic Unity Convention of two big American organizations in the free labor world.

As one of the free trade unionists in Japan, I appreciate that American labor organizations have played leading part in free trade union movements in the world, and have cooperated a great deal with us in a work of developing the bona-fide trade union movements in our country for many years.

This cooperation has been appreciated highly and deeply, and indeed it is needless to say that these are especially the exact words for the cooperation of solving the problems we are facing now.

The cooperation, however, gained more higher appreciation when it participated in philosophical argument against the war waged by totalitarians because they have been concentrating their efforts to that part of the world by smiling-face technique. It is beyond imagination how the furnishing of righteous informations, exposing their tactics and their true character and resolution on and experiences in serious fighting, has been of use of bringing up the bona-fide trade unions in our country.

However, frankly speaking, especially in our country, a number of trade union leaders have still failed to have true cognizance of evils effected by totalitarianism.

They are under a hallucination as if a communistic society is a society that is designed by free labor. They are observing Red China from such an angle, and so not only they gladly accepted the invitations from the Soviet or Red China Government, or trade unions which are only their government agents, but some trade unions took up an attitude so far as to request expressly an invitation.

The number of the leaders of Japanese labor organizations who went to Soviet Russia or Red China, accepting their invitations and visited various places under their own guidance, in accordance with a schedule planned by them, has come up to several hundreds during the last one or two years.

Many of these persons have sung the praises of social condition in communistic orbit, after returning to our country. There is no more effective and low-price propaganda method in the world for the totalitarians.

Few days ago, I have received a report from my union, that one of the biggest National Trade Union Federations has concluded an agreement of mutual assistance with the Red Chinese Federation of Labor. These 2-3 years will be most dangerous periods for the Free labor movement in Japan I believe.

Japanese Trade Union Congress, or a group of bona-fide trade unions, one of which I am belonging to, has rejected to accept such invitations up to the present day and will reject for the future.

We do not think there is no need of knowing the true conditions in a neighboring country. On the contrary, we keenly feel the necessity of knowledge about them. However, we believe we can correctly understand the real situations only through our own free schedule, accompanying our own interpreter and by our own expenditure.

For the purpose of proper trade union movements in Japan, and sound and solid development of Far Eastern trade union movements, a cooperation of free trade unions in the world is necessary, especially, we necessitate more than past a cooperation with trade unions in neighboring country across the Pacific Ocean, for the more effective fighting against the totalitarians, and also for the solution of difficult labor problems we are confronting with.

Viewed in this light, that new big labor organization in America has become to possess the bigger organizing power and political influence, it is a joy, as a matter of course, for free trade unions in the world, and especially we, free trade unionists in Far Eastern region are unable to contain our joy.

We wish eagerly and believe firmly the new organization AFL-CIO may march on with success not only in the domestic field but also in the world-wide sphere.

Tokyo, Japan, December 3, 1955.

George Meany, AFL-CIO Convention

Merger of AFL-CIO is an historic event affecting the course of free and democratic trade union movement. We watch and expect great success for the convention in its work.

YONEKICHI KANEMASA, Chairman  
Japan Federation of Labor.

### INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

... President Meany presented to the Convention Mr. Eusebio Mujal, B. Secretary General, Confederation of Cuban Workers.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: I would like to read another statement at this time.

### NATIONAL LABOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR SAVINGS BONDS

The National Labor Advisory Committee for Savings Bonds was established at the request of the United States Treasury Department to enlist the cooperation of all labor unions in promoting the sale of U. S. Savings Bonds.

The committee is comprised of representatives of all legitimate organized labor groups. The AFL-CIO representa-

tives are George Meany, Walter Reuther, James B. Carey and William F. Schnitzler.

This committee urges every trade union to give its full support to this worthwhile program of our Government to extend the sale of Savings Bonds to wage earners through the Payroll Savings Plan. Today over 8 million wage earners in 40 thousand American industries are availing themselves of this opportunity to save regularly through the automatic way of the payroll deduction plan for investing in Savings Bonds.

We have pledged the cooperation of organized labor to furthering this great and important American program. We recommend to all affiliated unions that they give their heartiest support to the program which is aimed to carry the Savings Bonds message to every union man and woman in America.

### FINAL REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Co-Chairman Woll of the Resolutions Committee.

### RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO NEW YORK

... Committee Co-Chairman Woll presented the resolution of Thanks to New York as follows:

At the close of this Convention, we wish to extend our most sincere thanks and deepest appreciation to the citizens of New York and to the officers and members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in this great metropolitan area who have been most hospitable in welcoming this historic first Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

We wish also to express our appreciation to Governor Averell Harriman, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, the clergy and the city and state officials who have extended a hearty welcome to the officers, delegates and visitors to this Convention.

The officers and members of the New York State Federation of Labor, the New York State Industrial Union Council, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity and the New York City Industrial Union Council have done everything possible to excel as generous, warm-hearted, and cordial hosts to this Convention. They have been aided by an outstanding local convention committee, the members of which have truly outdone themselves to make certain that this would be the successful and well-organized convention it has been.

We appreciate also the utmost cooperation we have received from the representatives of the press, radio, and television who have brought this historic story of this great unity convention to the people in all parts of the globe.

The special thanks of this Convention must also go to the efficient staff of the army, the police and security guards from Local 177, Building Service

Employees' International Union, the Musicians and Stage Hands who helped in the arrangements and the entire staff of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers and delegates of the first AFL-CIO Convention extend their sincere thanks and deepest appreciation to the many people whose contributions have made this an outstandingly successful convention.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously by standing vote.

**VICE PRESIDENT WOLL**: I now move you that the report of the Resolutions Committee as adopted be approved as a whole. The report is signed by all members of the Committee.

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

James B. Carey, Electrical, Radio & Machine; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union; H. C. Bates, Bricklayers; Wm. C. Birthright, Barbers; Hyman Blumberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Wm. C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers; Joseph A. Bierne, Communications Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery; E. J. Schaefer, Oil, Chemical & Atomic; Wm. L. McFetridge, Building Service; James C. Petrillo, Musicians; L. S. Buckmaster, Rubber Workers; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Al J. Hayes, Machinists; Emil Mazey, United Automobile Workers; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Joseph D. Keenan, Electrical Workers; Ralph Helstein, Packinghouse Workers; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employees; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; A. F. Hartung, Woodworkers; A. L. Spradling, Street & Electric Railway; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers; James Suffredge, Retail Clerks; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers; John Mara, Boot & Shoe Workers; Arnold Zander, State, County & Municipal; Harry Sayre, Paperworkers; John Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron; Alex Rose, Shoppers; John J. Grogan, Marine & Shipbuilding; Thomas E. Dunwoody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical; Joseph Collis, Newspaper Guild; Sam Ming, Grain Millers; Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen; Lee Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Burl Phares, Glass & Ceramic Workers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Peter Schoemann, Plumbing & Pipe Fitting; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; Paul Phillips, Paper Makers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way; Ed Miller, Hotel & Restaurant; L. M. Raftery, Painters.

Co-Chairmen—Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers and David McDonald, Steel Workers; Co-Secretaries—R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation and Joseph Curran, Maritime Union.

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: You have heard the motion to adopt the report of the Resolutions Committee as a whole. Is there discussion?

Those who favor the motion signify by saying aye; contrary-minded, no.

The motion is carried, and it is so ordered, and the Committee is discharged with the thanks of the officers and delegates to this Convention for a very fine job.

**PRESIDENT MEANY**: The Chair recognizes Vice President Charles MacGowan.

**VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN**: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this most historic Convention: As one who has spent more than 45 years in the trade union movement and now is going down into the long shadows, and also as a member of the Unity Committee, I want to leave one or two thoughts with this fine body of men.

You well know that man is afraid of the unknown just as a child is afraid of the darkness. After all, it is said that men are but grown-up children.

The vote in both the Conventions and again in the Joint Convention was unanimously in favor of the merger. But notwithstanding that, as some men have talked to me, they are fearful of the unknown in the future. We have a tremendous task ahead of us putting together the various bodies in the states and in the localities. Many times you will find that old sores are controlling many times you will find that personal prejudices are involved. Well, it was not easy for Walter Reuther to step down from the presidency of the CIO. It was not easy for Jim Carey to step down from the office of Secretary-Treasurer. But they did it willingly; they did it of their own accord. There was no compulsion applied to them. Should that not be an example that can be imitated and followed in all of the other segments of this great movement? I commit it to your membership everywhere as a good beginning.

Now, with respect to any apprehensions—this job is not going to be easy. There are going to be conflicts, but I approach this merger in the solid faith that everybody else who joined in it did the job in good faith. Instead of operating on our suspicions, let us operate on the basis that everybody else is in good faith, too.

I have been a little bit disturbed by some overtones involving the question of power that this movement is going to have. Are we copying the language of the NAM or the Chamber of Commerce? Labor has never abused power, and they are not going to abuse it now.

We are going to work from strength in carrying the message of the underprivileged and the wage earners of our country and of the whole world into every place where we can carry it.

But power indicates cloak and dagger business, the club with the gun. Let's quit using the term "power." Strengthen influence, education and determination to hold our banner high and clean and convince our enemies that they have got the approach wrong, is what we need to use instead. Thank you very much.

At this time the Chair recognizes Vice President Reuther for a statement.

**VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER**: Brother Chairman and delegates: I have

been asked to make a few closing remarks.

This has indeed been an historic week. We have laid well the foundations for the building of the united labor movement. In these closing minutes let us leave this Convention in a spirit of rededication to the ideals and the aspirations out of which the American labor movement has drawn its strength and its vitality in the years back. Let us go forward in that ever-increasing task of finding a fuller measure of economic and social justice, of human dignity and human happiness for all the people of our great nation.

We leave here conscious that the greater numbers and the greater power which we take unto ourselves places in our hands a greater responsibility.

We say to our fellow workers and our fellow citizens throughout this great land of ours we shall use this greater power with a sense of moral and social responsibility, and we shall dedicate it in the service of all the people of our great nation. We believe with all our hearts that this wonderful country of ours is in fact the last best hope of free men everywhere. And we extend to the people of this great nation of workers, farmers, small businessmen, people everywhere, the hand of fellowship and friendship and the hand of cooperation. We say let us work together in the vineyards of American democracy, not only dreaming our dreams of a better tomorrow, but daring to build those dreams.

We want to work with the people of America in the days ahead in making it possible for every child to have an adequate schooling and the opportunity to grow into a better, finer human being. We want to wipe out the slums so that every family can have a decent home and a healthy neighborhood. We want to afford our own people a fuller measure of security and human dignity. We want to banish from America every ugly and immoral form of racial discrimination. We want to say to the people of the world, "We want to stand with you in fighting every ugly and evil form of tyranny, reaction on the right and reaction on the left."

We want to prove to the world that the kind of tomorrow that we are working to fashion for free men everywhere is a world in which people can have economic security, all of the good things of life in a material sense, without the need of sacrificing their basic political and spiritual freedom.

We reject the communist philosophy that man can solve his economic problems only if he enslaves the human soul. We believe that you can have both bread and freedom, and the trade union movement is dedicated to bringing that end to fulfillment.

And so we say to the people of the world, "We extend our hand to you everywhere, to men of good will, and together we shall go forward, and together we shall build that better tomorrow in the image of peace, in the image of freedom, in the image of social justice, and in the image of human brotherhood."

God bless all of you on your way home, and may He bless your families. Thank you.

### CLOSING REMARKS OF PRESIDENT MEANY

Now as we come to the closing moments of this convention I would like to express my appreciation to all the delegates in attendance for the very fine attention and the very fine attendance we have had, as well as the very fine spirit that is manifest all over this hall.

We have had our convention and despite all the complicated and lengthy resolves in our resolutions, we have reiterated the traditional objective of the trade union movement to advance the cause of those who work for wages, and to advance that cause not at the expense of our neighbors but to advance the cause of our country as something that is prerequisite to any improvements in the conditions of those we represent.

We have made it clear in carrying on the work of the trade union movement we are prepared to make our full contribution to the welfare of our neighbors, of the communities in which we live, and to the nation as a whole.

In preparing to make this contribution, we have also made it crystal clear that we of the American labor movement are determined to remain free, and in order to remain free we are determined to make our contribution in the relation of our own nation to the other nations of the world in order that freedom may be preserved for all mankind.

Despite these simple objectives which will stand the test of decency and morality, we find little men with loud voices and sometimes big titles who are critical of what we are doing, who seem to see something that is inimical to the welfare of the country. I would like to say to those little men, their criticism will not turn us aside from our chosen paths and that when we say we want to cooperate with all segments of the community, including management, including the employer, including the industrialist, they are not to get the wrong impression by that.

This is not going to be any milk toast movement. We are going to seek these things in the militant manner in which our organization was founded. We are going to use every legal means at the command of American citizens to organize the unorganized, to bring the benefits of the trade union movement to the millions who lack those benefits today. No little men with loud voices in either political or industrial life are going to turn us aside.

I am sure from the spirit I have seen manifested at this convention, both on this platform and among those holding positions of responsibility and on the floor of this convention among those who represent the millions of men and women who go to make up this great organization, that we can do this job. We can do it in a way that will redound to the credit of the entire movement. We can do it in a way that will warm the hearts of the veterans of our move-

ment. We can do it in a way that will commend our efforts in this movement and the people in it to all of our neighbors and all of the people in the communities in which we live.

It is in that spirit I bring this convention to a close with a simple thank you to all of you present here on this auspicious occasion. Thank you very much.

Before the gavel falls for the last time I will ask Bill Doherty, who has a very

good baritone voice, to lead us in the singing of "God Bless America."

... Vice President Doherty sang "God Bless America."

PRESIDENT MEANY: This Convention is now adjourned, sine die.

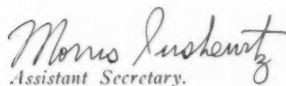
... At 5:20 o'clock, P. M., the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, meeting in New York City, adjourned sine die.



Secretary,



Assistant Secretary,



Assistant Secretary.

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